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HANDBOOK TO THE BIBLE

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A

HANDBOOK TO THE BIBLE :

BEING

*A GUIDE TO THE STUDY OF THE
HOLY SCRIPTURES ;*

Derived from Ancient Monuments and Modern Exploration.

BY

F. R. CONDER

AND

C. R. CONDER, R.E.

FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON :

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

1887.

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PREFACE.

THE OBJECT of the 'HANDBOOK TO THE BIBLE' is to afford to the students of Holy Scripture, in an accessible form, the main outcome of those important researches which have been carried on during the present century.

The Chronological arrangement is based on a careful collation of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Bible; on the study of those latent references of Josephus which no copyist had any motive for altering; and on a comparison of those Biblical pedigrees which give five collateral lines from Jacob to the contemporaries of Moses, and four from that generation to the time of David. Such long debated questions as that of the period of the abode of the Israelites in Egypt are elucidated, by this application of the method of the genealogist to the unbroken lines of recorded descent; as it is contrary to experience to imagine that as many as fourteen generations can have succeeded each other in 215 years. We are thus led to the conclusion that, in this matter, the Hebrew text is more accurate than the Septuagint.

The comparison of the Sacred reckoning with the astronomically determined chronology of Egypt, Assyria,

Greece, Persia, and Rome, brings to light a series of Synchronisms of great value, and leaves the sequence of the Sacred Text only doubtful in a few cases where a double statement in the Biblical narrative may still give some cause for hesitation; these few instances are, however, for periods not exceeding ten years.

The account of the Metrology of Palestine is based on the comparison of definite statements of the great Aramaean and Arabic writers with the weights of existing standards and the levels and dimensions of the Temple area at Jerusalem, and of the Galilean Synagogues, as well as with itinerary distances. It is hoped that greater certitude has been thus obtained respecting the length of the Cubit, the weight of the Shekel, and the contents of the Seah or of the Hin, than existed before the materials now compared had been collected. Tables of Hebrew Measures are added; and every Coin mentioned by name in the Bible, as well as a series of Hebrew Coins, from one bearing the name of 'Eliashib the Priest' to the Procuratorship of Pontius Pilate, have been carefully drawn from examples now in the British Museum and elsewhere.

The Ritual of the Temple has been illustrated from the full details preserved in the Mishna and arranged by Maimonides. A general view of the laws, customs, taxes, and imposts, and of the social habits, of the inhabitants of Palestine during the reign of the Idumaean dynasty, has been given, which will, it is hoped, enable the student to understand many references both in the Old and in the New Testament, which are often very little comprehended. The numerous references to the authorities consulted are

intended to guide the more earnest enquirer, especially if acquainted with the Hebrew language, to the standard sources of detailed and exhaustive knowledge.

It has been the main object of the writers as far as possible to avoid every expression of opinion, whether their own or that of any school of thinkers; and to supply first, facts, and secondly, careful references, by which the citation of those facts may be verified, and the inferences from them traced by the reader himself to the legitimate result.

The physical and geographical description of the country is based on personal observation, and on the Trigonometrical Survey and other professional labours carried out by the various officers of Royal Engineers who have conducted explorations in Palestine during the last fifteen years. The Maps will be found to contain much novel information, and will serve as a guide to the use of the large engraved Survey Map now in course of publication by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

The Biblical Gazetteer contains a digest of the Biblical discoveries made by the various exploring parties, and by the most reliable travellers who preceded them. As an index it will also be valuable to the student of the Survey Map, by showing the ancient names, which do not appear on that document. The Natural History Index contains all the positive information to be found in the standard works on the subject, together with new details which will not be found in those authorities, including a comparison of the Hebrew and Aramaic with the modern Arabic names.

The General Index has been made an important feature of the Handbook, with the object of allowing this volume to be used as a Bible Dictionary.

The effort of the authors has been to produce a work, founded on monumental research, to which additional information may hereafter be added, but from which, it is hoped, but little may require to be erased.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

IN presenting to the public a Third Edition of the 'HANDBOOK TO THE BIBLE,' the authors take the occasion of printing, by the kind permission of His Grace, the subjoined letter from the Archbishop of York.

BISHOPTHORPE, YORK: *May* 10, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR,

I know your 'Handbook to the Bible' well, having procured it as soon as I heard of it, and having read it twice with a good deal of attention. It gives a great deal of information, and is no mere compilation, but an original and important work. I wish every candidate for Holy Orders would use it both before and after ordination.

I think I have never referred to it in vain, and I have certainly gone back to its pages very often.

I am, yours truly,

(Signed)

W. EBOR.

LIEUTENANT CONDER

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HEBREW ALPHABETS.

[illegible]

TABLE I.

CANON OF THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES.

(FROM THE 'PROLOGUS GALEATUS' OF ST. JEROME, EDITION
OF 1592.)

<i>Order I.—THORA. THE LAW.</i>		
		Latest event Anno Sacro
א	BERASHITH. IN the beginning . (<i>GENESIS</i>)	2909
ב	VEELLE SHEMOTH. NOW these are the names (<i>EXODUS</i>)	3270
ג	VAIJCRA. AND the Lord called unto Moses (<i>LEVITICUS</i>)	3270
ד	VAIEDABBER. AND the Lord spake unto Moses (<i>NUMBERS</i>)	3308
ה	ELLE HADDEBARIM. THESE are the words (<i>DEUTERONOMY</i>)	
<i>Order II.—NEBAIM. THE PROPHETS.</i>		
ו	IOSHUE BEN NUN (<i>JOSHUA</i>)	3341
ז	SOPHETIM (<i>JUDGES</i>)	3079
	(<i>RUTH</i>)	3700
ח	SAMUEL (1 <i>SAMUEL</i>)	3758
ט	. . . . . (2 <i>SAMUEL</i>)	3788
י	MELACHIM (1 <i>KINGS</i>)	3919
יא	. . . . . (2 <i>KINGS</i>)	4247
יב	ISAIAS (<i>ISAIAH</i>)	4108
יג	IEREMIAS (<i>JEREMIAH</i>)	4247
יד	. . . . . (<i>LAMENTATIONS</i>)	4233
טו	EZEKIEL (<i>EZEKIEL</i>)	4247
טז	THERE ASAR (THE 12 MINOR PROPHETS)	
יז	. . . . . (<i>HOSEA</i>)	4090

TABLE I.—*continued.*

THERE ASAR— <i>continued.</i>				Latest event Anno Sacro
ב	.	.	(JOEL)	4155
ג	.	.	(AMOS)	4046
ד	.	.	(OBADIAH)	4363
ה	.	.	(JONAH)	4036
ו	.	.	(MICAH)	4122
ז	.	.	(NAHUM)	4145
ח	.	.	(HABAKKUK)	4155
ט	.	.	(ZEPHANIAH)	4210
י	.	.	(HAGGAI)	4289
יא	.	.	(ZECHARIAH)	4292
יב	.	.	(MALACHI)	4363
<i>Order III.—KETHUBIM. THE SCRIPTURES.</i>				
א	IOB	.	(JOB)	—
ב	DAVID: Book 1	.	(PSALM 1-41)	3799
	Book 2	.	(PSALM 42-72)	—
	Book 3	.	(PSALM 73-89)	—
	Book 4	.	(PSALM 90-106)	—
	Book 5	.	(PSALM 107-150)	4293
	SOLOMON	.	—	3839
ג	MISLE	.	(PROVERBS)	4121
ד	COHELETH	.	(ECCLESIASTES)	—
ה	SIR HASSIRIM	.	(SONG OF SOLOMON)	—
ו	DANIEL	.	(DANIEL)	4642
ז	DIBRE HAAMIM	.	(1 CHRONICLES)	3799
ח		.	(2 CHRONICLES)	4272
ט	ESDRAS	.	(EZRA)	4363
י		.	(NEHEMIAH)	4375
יא	ESTHER	.	(ESTHER)	—

TABLE II.

LIST OF THE TREATISES OF THE TALMUD.

Showing those accompanied by the Jerusalem, and those by the Babylon, Gemara.

Order I.—ZERAIM. SEEDS.					
	Tract	Subject	Chapters	Gemara	
1	BERACOTH . . .	<i>Daily Prayers</i>	9	J.	B.
2	PEAH . . .	<i>Corner of Field</i>	8	J.	—
3	DEMAI . . .	<i>Doubtful Tithes</i>	7	J.	—
4	KILAIM . . .	<i>Commixtures</i>	9	J.	—
5	SABITH . . .	<i>Seventh Year</i>	10	J.	—
6	TRUMOTH . . .	<i>Oblations</i>	11	J.	—
7	MAASEROTH . . .	<i>Tithes</i>	8	J.	—
8	MAASER SHENI . . .	<i>Second Tithes</i>	5	J.	—
9	ORLA . . .	<i>Newly-planted Trees</i>	3	J.	—
10	HALLA . . .	<i>First dough</i>	4	J.	—
11	BICCURIM . . .	<i>First-fruits</i>	3	J.	Baraita
Order II.—MOED. FEASTS.					
1	SABBATH . . .	<i>Sabbath</i>	20	J.	B.
2	ERUBIN . . .	<i>Communications</i>	10	J.	B.
3	PESAKHIM . . .	<i>Passover</i>	10	J.	B.
4	YOMA . . .	<i>Day of Expiation</i>	8	J.	B.
5	SHEKALIM . . .	<i>Capitation Tax</i>	8	J.	B. = J.
6	SUCCAH . . .	<i>Tabernacles</i>	5	J.	B.
7	ROSH HASHANAH . . .	<i>New Year</i>	4	J.	B.
8	YOM TOB . . .	<i>Festivals</i>	5	J.	B.
9	TAANITH . . .	<i>Fasts</i>	4	J.	B.
10	MEGILLA . . .	<i>Book of Esther</i>	4	J.	B.
11	KHAGIGAH . . .	<i>Sacrifices</i>	3	J.	B.
12	MOED KATON . . .	<i>Minor Feasts</i>	3	J.	B.
Order III.—NESHIM. WOMEN.					
1	YEBAMMOTH . . .	<i>Rights of Brothers' Widows</i>	15	J.	B.
2	SOTAH . . .	<i>Suspected Wife</i>	9	J.	B.
3	KETUBOTH . . .	<i>Contracts of Marriage</i>	13	J.	B.
4	NEDARIM . . .	<i>Vows</i>	12	J.	B.
5	GITTIN . . .	<i>Divorces</i>	9	J.	B.
6	NAZIR . . .	<i>Nazarite</i>	9	J.	B.
7	KIDDUSHIN . . .	<i>Betrothals</i>	4	J.	B.

TABLE II.—*continued.*

Order IV.—NEZIKIN. DAMAGES.				
	Tract	Subject	Chapters	Gemara
1	BABA KAMA .	<i>First Gate</i>	10	J. B.
2	BABA METSIA .	<i>Middle Gate</i>	10	J. B.
3	BABA BATHRA .	<i>Last Gate</i>	10	J. B.
4	SANHEDRIN .	<i>Judges</i>	11	J. B.
5	MAKKOTH .	<i>Stripes</i>	3	2 Chap. B.
6	SABBUOTH .	<i>Oaths</i>	8	J. B.
7	ABODA ZARA .	<i>Idolatry</i>	5	J. B.
8	HORAJOTH .	<i>Documents</i>	8	J. B.
9	PIRKE ABOTH .	<i>Fathers</i>	10	— —
10	EDIOTH .	<i>Testimonies</i>	7	— —
Order V.—KODASHIM. HOLY THINGS.				
1	ZEBAKHIM .	<i>Sacrifices</i>	14	— B.
2	MINKHOTH .	<i>Offerings</i>	13	— B.
3	KHOLIN .	<i>Profane Things</i>	12	— B.
4	BICCURIM .	<i>Firstlings</i>	9	— B.
5	ERACIN .	<i>Valuations</i>	9	— B.
6	TEMURA .	<i>Substitution</i>	7	— B.
7	KERITOTH .	<i>Excisions</i>	6	— B.
8	MEILA .	<i>Prevarication</i>	6	— B.
9	TAMID .	<i>Daily Sacrifice</i>	6	— B.
10	MIDDOTH .	<i>Measurements</i>	5	— B.
11	KENNIM .	<i>Nests</i>	3	— B.
Order VI.—TAHOROTH. PURIFICATIONS.				
1	KELIM .	<i>Vessels</i>	30	— —
2	AHOLOTH .	<i>Impurities</i>	18	— —
3	NEGA'IM .	<i>Leprosy</i>	14	— —
4	PARAH .	<i>Red Heifer</i>	12	— —
5	TAHOROTH .	<i>Minor Impurities</i>	10	— —
6	MIKVAOTH .	<i>Baths</i>	10	— —
7	NIDDAH .	<i>Separation (of Women)</i>	10	4 Chap. B.
8	MAKSHAREN .	<i>Rules of Purification</i>	6	— —
9	ZAHM .	<i>Fluxes</i>	5	— —
10	TEBUL-YOM .	<i>Washed the same day</i>	4	— —
11	YADAIM .	<i>The Hands</i>	4	— —
12	UKKIZIN .	<i>Stalks</i>	3	— —

HANDBOOK TO THE BIBLE.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.

A CLEAR knowledge of the Chronology of the Bible is an indispensable requisite for its intelligent study. By this is meant, not only the comprehension of that sequence in time which may to a certain extent be obtained from a careful collation of the Hebrew and Greek texts, but the absolute determination of the position of the cardinal events of the Sacred History in astronomical time.

The decipherment of the monumental records of Assyria and of Egypt, which has of late made such rapid advance, has thrown a flood of light on those scanty materials from which the great scholars of the eighteenth century endeavoured to trace the connection between the history of Palestine and that of Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, and Egypt. The regnal years of the Assyrian monarchs, between B.C. 909 and B.C. 626, have been recovered with actual certitude from calendars which denote each successive year by the eponymy, or name of an officer, as in the Roman consular *Fasti*; the whole series being absolutely fixed in time by the record of the eclipse of June, B.C. 763, as occurring in the ninth regnal year of Ashur-dan-an, the successor of Shalmanezar III.

The Regal Canon of Ptolemy, which was the only record

known, before recent discoveries, of the Kings of Babylon from the era of Nabonassar, is found accurately to agree with the Assyrian dates, and has been further verified by the discovery, among many others, of contract tablets, bearing date on the 17th year of Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon.

The regnal years of the Egyptian kings, so far back as B.C. 666, have been absolutely determined by the inscriptions on the monumental stelæ of the Apis Bulls, in the Serapeum, near Memphis, discovered by M. Mariette. These epitaphs not only denote the year of the death of each Bull, referred to a regnal year, but give the length of the life of the animal, and the regnal year of its birth, thus verifying the dates of the regal accessions by a parallel and contemporaneous reckoning.

Of the numerous synchronisms between Sacred and profane history which result from the recovery of the latter, two may be cited which are irreconcilable with the dates to be found on the margin of our English Bibles. These dates were arrived at on the assumption that the years of Nebuchadnezzar, quoted in 2 Kings (25. 8), were the years of that monarch's reign at Babylon. On that supposition, the 14th year of Hezekiah fell B.C. 710, which was five years before the accession of Sennacherib; and the 4th year of Jehoiakim (Jer. 46. 2) fell B.C. 607, which was eleven years before the close of the reign of Necho, king of Egypt, who was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish, in the 4th year of the Jewish king, and three years before the accession of Nebuchadnezzar himself at Babylon. Thus the entire series of synchronisms was thrown out of adjustment, and a painful suspicion was raised as to the existence of discrepancies in the two records which prove to be entirely imaginary.

By the simple correction of dating the years of Nebuchadnezzar from the time of his becoming supreme in Palestine, the Bible dates before that period are brought ten years lower than the figures on the margin of the English Bibles, and the course of the Sacred Record is shown to be in accurate accordance with monumental chronology.

The ancient chronology of profane history usually com-

mences with a mythical or allegorical period, attributed to the reign of the gods. It is not until we arrive at the notice of some event which is plainly historic, that any ancient document comes under the study of the chronologist. In the Pentateuch it is not until the time of Abraham that any references, that have as yet been distinctly traced, to contemporary history occur; and it is, therefore, with the life of that patriarch that the chronicle, or practical detailed chronology, of the Bible actually commences.

With regard to the dates of the Book of Genesis, anterior to the time of Abraham, the only difficulty that exists as to adopting their sum as a measure of through reckoning from a fixed era arises from the imperfect state of the several texts, the accordance of which would be conclusive on this point. These are, the codices of the Hebrew Scriptures, the two texts of the Septuagint translation of the same, which was made, as far at least as the Pentateuch is concerned, under the reign of Ptolemy II., king of Egypt, about 277 B.C., and the works of Josephus. It may be advisable also here to refer to the Samaritan codices of the Pentateuch; but the most venerable of these, which is preserved at Nablous, and which contains a *tarikh* (or note made by the thickening of certain letters in each line), to the effect that it was transcribed by the hand of Abishua the High priest, the great grandson of Aaron, has never yet been collated by any European scholar.

There is no doubt that the Hebrew Scriptures, as they existed before the time of the 'men of the Great Synagogue,' the contemporaries and survivors of Ezra, formed the source from which the chronological passages occurring in the present copies of the Pentateuch, in the two texts of the Septuagint, and in the three separate works of Josephus, were originally taken. Any variations must have arisen either from error in copying, or from a desire—very possibly highly conscientious on the part of the copyists—to correct what they thought to be errors. There is an ancient copy of Eusebius in existence, in a sort of preface to which every future copyist is expressly enjoined to correct any errors which he may detect. To this sense of

literary duty, which is entirely opposed to^p our present views of textual exactitude, may probably be attributed the fact that nearly all the principal passages in the works of Josephus which afford direct chronological statements are mutually inconsistent; while nearly all those indirect references to dates, which a copyist could have no inducement to alter, are found to be consistent and exact.

With regard to the chronology of the Book of Genesis, prior to the time of Abraham, it is not the province of the chronologist to enquire into any but the purely numeric statements. Whether the number of years attributed to the early Patriarchs be taken to denote the terms of human lives, of a longevity elsewhere unrecorded; successions, such as those of some of the Egyptian dynasties; or some allegorical teaching, the key to which is now lost; it is clear that we have in the 5th chapter of the Book of Genesis, a definite number of years from the era of Adam, the father of Seth, and the first recorded progenitor of the Hebrew and Arab races, down to the birth of Arphaxad. This number of years now stands in the Hebrew codices at 1,658; in the Septuagint at 2,244; in the Samaritan Pentateuch at 1,309; while in the Antiquities of Josephus the details amount to 1,658 years, but the sum is set down as 2,658 years. The epigraph of the 1st book of Antiquities gives an interval of 3,833 years from the Creation to the death of Isaac. The passages in Josephus which are least direct in their statements of successive dates, and which are therefore the least likely to have been corrected by the copyist, are to be found in the Preface to the Antiquities, and in the First Book against Apion; and are to the effect that the Sacred Book contains the history of a period of 5,000 years.

From the birth of Arphaxad to the birth of Abraham there is a variation as to period which resembles, and to some extent compensates for, the differences remarked before the earlier epoch. Josephus is here in accordance with the Hebrew text, in giving a period of 290 years. But the details of the lives of the Patriarchs, as they stand in the present copies of the Antiquities, amount to 890 years. The details of the LXX. agree

with those of Josephus, with the insertion of an additional name, and an extra term of 130 years.

Amid this evident confusion of corrections and recorections, much light may be obtained by the comparison of the relation between the successive periods of the length of life, and the age of each individual at the time indicated for the birth of his successor. This comparison is altogether in favour of the Greek text for the first period in question, and of the Hebrew text for the second. And this conclusion, at least as far as relates to the second period, is rendered almost unquestionable by the 17th verse of the 17th chapter of the Book of Genesis, where the birth of a son to Abraham in the 100th year of his age is referred to as a marvel. According to the Greek reckoning, Abraham himself was not born until his father was 170 years old; and his seven preceding ancestors each had issue first at the age of about 130. This may be taken as conclusive for the rejection of the 600 years in question after the birth of Arphaxad; while the accord between the through reckoning and the term of 5,000 years twice cited by Josephus is equally weighty in favour of the adoption of the longer term for the first period in debate.

It is not unworthy of consideration that the determination thus arrived at, of the lapse of a total period of 2,649 years from the *arché* or era of the 'book of the generation of Adam' (the 5th chapter of the Book of Genesis) to the birth of Isaac, forms the commencement of a through reckoning which possesses advantages fully equal to those of the famous Julian period of Scaliger. Whether it be regarded as intentional or unintentional on the part of the Sacred writers, the fact is undeniable that this through reckoning gives a common starting-point for the septennial calculation, enforced by the Jewish laws, the bissextile cycle of four years, the lunar cycle, which was first introduced by Meton, and the Saros, or eclipse cycle, of which the value in ancient astronomy was indisputable. To this through reckoning, therefore, which is at once so simple and so convenient, the dates of the Sacred History will be directly referred in the following pages under the title of *Anno Sacro*, or the year of the restored sacred reckoning of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Two modes of reckoning were used by the Jews, at least from the date of the Exodus. Of these, the first is that of the ordinary decimal notation, which has become almost universal among the human family, and which is generally supposed to have originated in the use of the ten fingers in counting. The other is the septennial division of time into weeks of years. It is evident that the concurrence of these two modes of reckoning, whenever it can be distinctly ascertained, must afford a means of chronological determination of positive exactitude. The decimal reckoning is that used for the notation of lengths of the reigns of Gentile kings, of intervals between events, of the lengths of the lives of Jewish kings or High priests, and generally of the sequence of events not connected with the ritual observances proper to the separate weeks of the recurring septennial period. These observances regarded not only the seventh year (in which cultivation of the ground was forbidden, so that a regular rotation of fallow was ensured), but also the third and the sixth year of the week, in each of which the second tithe was paid to the poor; and the fourth year, in which there were special regulations with regard to a portion of the crop. We shall hereafter refer to the minute directions as to these observances which are given in the Mishna.

An attempt has been made by some writers to show that the recurrence of the Year of Jubilee, at the close of every seven weeks of years, or forty-nine years, introduced a new unit into the reckoning, and thus made a period of two jubilees coincide with a century. Such writers have been unaware of the fact that, according to the special provisions of the Law, the Year of Jubilee was not contemporaneous with either the sacred or the civil year of the Jews, but commenced on a date peculiar to itself, the tenth day of the seventh month; and thus included the latter portion of a seventh, and the former portion of a first, or, as it is sometimes called, an eighth, year of the week.

In addition to the revolution of the Sabbatic year, another cycle existed among the Jews, which is referred to in both the Old and New Testaments, and clearly described in the Mishna.

This was the cycle of the orders, or courses, of the priests. The division was not peculiar to the sacerdotal body. The whole nation was divided into twenty-four Mishmaroth, or orders, corresponding to those established by David for the priests. When the period of service of each order arrived, a certain number of its members attended the services of the Temple during the week as the representatives of the whole body of the people. Those members of the course in function who were too distant from Jerusalem to attend as representative Israelites were bound to discontinue their ordinary avocations during the week, to attend the synagogues, and to read certain appointed portions of Scripture. Thus the revolution of the courses formed an integral part of the life of the Jewish people; and this cycle affords an additional means of determining any dates which refer to the order of the priests on duty, as on the occasion of the vision of Zacharias, and on that of the destruction of the first Temple. (Cf. 1 Chron. 24. 7.)

As to this cycle, the words of R. Jose (Erachin, fol. 11 b, and Taanith, fol. 29 a) should be noted. They state that the destruction of the first Temple occurred on the 9th day of the month Ab, at the end of the Sabbath, at the end of the week, and during the function of the course of Jehoiarib. The Levites were singing the verse, 'They break in pieces thy people, O Lord, and afflict thy heritage' (Ps. 94. 5). Similar circumstances, the passage continues, recurred at the destruction of the second Temple. The regular revolution of the Mishmaroth, or courses, from the 40th year of David, according to the accompanying chronology, brings Jehoiarib into course on the date fixed, on other grounds, as that of the destruction of the first Temple. Scaliger has translated an ancient Jewish poem, which refers to the destruction of the Holy House, as follows—

Die nonâ mensis, horâ vespertinâ,
Quum eram in vigilio meo, vigilio Jehoiarib;
Introivit hostis, et sacrificia sua obtulit;
Ingressus est injustus in Sanctuarium Domini.

'On the ninth day of the month, at the evening hour, while I was in my vigil, the vigil of Jehoiarib, the enemy entered and

offered his sacrifices, the unjust entered into the Sanctuary of the Lord.'

The Jews had no astronomical calendar. They were expressly forbidden by the Sanhedrin to construct one. They had no recorded determination of the solar year; but a coincidence of the solar and lunar years (such as that which Meton discovered, and which was introduced into Greece in the year 776 B.C.) was provided for by the rule, that three ears, of barley, coming from at least two out of the three provinces of the Holy Land must be found for the Passover. The first day of the month was determined by the actual observation of the moon. If on the day on which this was first possible (that is to say, on the day following the conjunction) the moon was not seen, the day next following was hallowed as the first of the month. Those persons who first saw the new moon went up to Jerusalem to give evidence; and this testimony, in the cases of the first and the seventh months, was considered so important as to supersede the law of the Sabbath and justify travelling on that day. By this method (as will be found to be the case in the entire system of Jewish metrology), while slight error might at times occur, cumulative error was rendered impossible.

The accordance between the mean course of the lunar year, thus fixed by actual observation, and that of the seasons, was secured by the introduction of 'embolismic,' or intercalated, months, as in the case of the Olympiads. But instead of the adoption of a fixed rule, such as that of the Enneadecateris, or Golden Number of Meton, this intercalation was decided in each case by a council of the chiefs of the Sanhedrin. So essential to the due performances of the sacred rites was accuracy as to the intercalation of this month, called Veadar, or the second Adar, held to be, that the High priest for the time being was not allowed to be present at this council. The services of the great Day of Atonement were extremely trying for the High priest, and it was feared that his natural wish that the great festival should occur as early in the year as possible, might unduly influence his vote as to the intercalation of a month.

By this method of determination, while it is possible in

some instances to be in doubt as to a date recorded in the historic books of the Bible to the limit of a day, or in some years of a month, we are able, by the aid of the accurate reckoning of modern astronomy, to ascertain any recorded date within that limit, and no room occurs for any accumulated misreckoning.

The commencement of the year, thus always coinciding with the visible new moon, was reckoned, for different purposes, to fall on different months. A special treatise of the Mishna, called 'Rosh Hashanah,' is devoted to the subject of the new year. In Nisan, or Abib, the lunar month containing the vernal equinox, the reckoning of the year for the reigns of Kings or High priests, and for fixing the festivals commenced. The first day of the month Elul commenced the year as regarded the tithing of cattle. The month of Tisri, or Ethanim, was the time for fixing the intermissions of servitudes, for commencing the Jubilee (on the 10th day), and for the new year for planting trees and herbs. The fourth 'head of the year' was, according to the school of Hillel, on the 1st day, and according to the school of Shamai, on the 15th day, of Sebat, for determining the age of trees. In addition to these four ordinary divisions of time, an ecclesiastical year (somewhat akin to the Advent season of the Christian Church) commenced with the new moon of Adar. The sepulchres were whitewashed and the roads and streets repaired during this month, and the proclamation for the payment of the Temple tax of the half-shekel was issued by the Senate. On the 15th day in the provinces, and on the 25th day in Jerusalem, the tables were set for the collection of this impost, which was due from every male Levite, Israelite, proselyte, and manumitted slave of above thirteen years of age. In connection with this observance the first Sabbath in Adar was called the first Sabbath; and the first Sabbath in Nisan (as referred to in St. Luke's Gospel, 6. 1) the 'Second First.'

The principal references of dates in the historic books of the Bible are to regnal years. The years of the septennate are more rarely indicated. One reference, of great chronological value, is found in the account of the proclamation of king Joash

in the 2nd of Kings (11. 4). The expression that they gave the infant king the testimony, refers to a special portion of the Temple ritual, which occurred only at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the Sabbatic year. The roll of the Law was then handed by the High priest to the king in the Temple, and the latter read an appointed lesson as part of the service. This is in exact accordance with the expression, 'And in the year of the Sabbath,' in the 4th verse of the 11th chapter, and is one of the series of synchronisms which establish the exactitude of the computation of the accompanying Tables.

A Jewish era was established in the 170th year of the Seleucidæ, 143 B.C., under the title of the First Year of Simon, High Priest, and Ethnarch of the Jews. Very few references to this era have been traced. Five years later, the right to coin money in his own name was conceded, or confirmed, to the High priest, by a treaty with Antiochus VII. The coins of the Hasmonean princes do not bear dates. The dates on Jewish coins, before the time of Herod the Great, never bear a higher number than 'the fourth year.' There is no room for doubt that the years thus indicated are those of the week. Money that could be easily distinguished was required for the purpose of paying the Temple tax, as well as for the payment of the second tithes; for which it was necessary to take up to Jerusalem not only a fixed sum, but the actual apportioned coins, so that a mode of distinguishing the year, dependent on the coin itself, was of great ceremonial importance.

The modes of reckoning referred to in the Bible, other than those special to the Jewish people, are as follows.

Events occurring in the Holy Land after the accession of Herod the Great are usually referred to the Roman reckoning. This was either by the names of the Consuls, or the eponymy of the year (a method also adopted in Assyrian chronology), or by the regnal year of the Emperor. Both consular and imperial dates are referred to in reckoning from the date (according to Varro) of the Foundation of the City of Rome. This was 753 years before the Christian era, and these dates are usually written A.U.C., or *Anno Urbis Conditiæ*. To this

notation all the chronology of the New Testament, as well as that of the Antiquities and Wars of Josephus after the accession of Herod, is more or less distinctly referrible.

The reckoning of the 1st Book of Maccabees, and of the contemporary portion of the works of Josephus, is given in the years of the Greek kings of Asia. The era of that reckoning is called the Era of the Seleucidæ, and dates on the capture of Babylon by Seleucus the First, or Nicator, eleven years after the death of Alexander the Great, or 313 B.C. This reckoning was used for a period of 244 years, down to the close of the Seleucid dynasty in B.C. 69.

The chronological table (which we have translated in Table V.) of the kings of Assyria, Persia, and the successive sovereigns of the East, including the emperors of Rome down to the death of Antoninus, is found in some of the ancient manuscripts of the *Almagest*, and is known by the name of the Regal Canon of Ptolemy. It is of the highest historic value, inasmuch as it is capable of direct astronomical verification by means of the observation of eclipses, which are recorded in the *Almagest*, and which are therein referred to the regnal years of the several kings, in whose reigns they took place. This Canon commences with what is known as the Era of Nabonassar, 748 B.C. It contains a list of 18 Babylonian kings, coming down to the conquest by Cyrus. These are followed by eleven Persian kings; and these by the eight years of the reign of Alexander the Great; the close of which, in the year 424 of Nabonassar, is called the Philippine era, and commences the second part of the Canon. Twelve Greek sovereigns succeed, Cleopatra being the last; in the 22nd year of whose reign, or the 294th of the Philippine era, the battle of Actium gave the Empire of the world to Augustus Cæsar. The Canon closes with the 15th successor of Augustus, in the 544th year of the Philippine era; and it is to be noted that short terms of power, such as those of Otho and Galba, are omitted, so that Nero is recorded as the fifth, and Vespasian as the sixth Roman Emperor—an observation of considerable importance with regard to references to the number of the sovereigns.

The only hesitation which could be felt as to the proper determination of the era of Nebuchadnezzar in Palestine, is the reference (2 Kings 25. 27) to the year of the accession of Evil Merodach, king of Babylon, who is the Ilouaramus of the Regal Canon, as coincident with the 37th year of the *galuth* or exile. This word is coupled with the names of Jehoiachin, in the Hebrew text, but with that of Jehoiachim, in the Septuagint. The thirty-seven years cited actually run from the overthrow of the Jewish monarchy at the defeat and death of Josiah.

The dates of the Book of Ezekiel are referred to the years of the *Galuth*, dating from the deportation of Jehoiachin, which was two years after the epoch of the 70 years' affliction and captivity. They are thus identified by the reference to the destruction of Jerusalem, in the 12th year (Ezek. 33. 21). But in the 29th chapter of Ezekiel (verse 17), between passages dated respectively in the tenth and eleventh years of the ordinary reckoning of the book, occurs a reference to the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar in the 27th year. Allowing for the difference of the time of commencing the Jewish and the Assyrian years, it will be found that the 27th year of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon, B.C. 579, coincides with the 11th year of the *Galuth*, as reckoned by Ezekiel, and with the 17th year of Nebuchadnezzar in Palestine. Thus what might hastily have been taken for an error in the text (although it is in accordance with the LXX. version), has really a high chronological significance.

We have spoken of the Egyptian dates as absolutely determined only as far back as B.C. 666. But so far back as the rise of the great 18th Dynasty, B.C. 1706, there is an accord between Lepsius, Bunsen, and Brugsch, to within little more than a century; and there is an almost conclusive verification of the dates we have taken from Isambert to within a couple of years, one of which is due to the gain made by the vague Egyptian year over the ordinary reckoning. No early regnal dates of Egyptian kings are to be found in the Bible. But it is a very remarkable fact, that the revolution of that

ancient measure of time affords confirmation of the two widely separated dates of the Exodus and the Crucifixion.

The vague, or sacred, Egyptian year consisted of twelve months, each containing thirty days (cf. Gen. 7. 11-24, and 8. 4), together with five epagomenæ, or additional days, respectively dedicated to Osiris, Aroueris, Isis, Typhæus, and Nephe. No intercalation was allowed, and as 365 days are nearly a quarter of a day shorter than a tropical solar year, the Egyptian year gradually displaced its commencement, or the 1st day of Thoth, with reference to the seasons. Fifteen hundred and five Egyptian years were thus equal to 1,504 tropical years; or, according to the more ordinary, though less scientific reckoning, 1,461 Egyptian, were equal to 1,460 Julian, years. The latter term would be more correctly replaced by the word Augustan. The reform of the calendar introduced by Julius Cæsar was so erroneous in its principle, that what is now called the Julian year was fixed by Augustus Cæsar, in A.D. 9. This reckoning was used until its correction by Pope Gregory XIII. in A.D. 1582, when it had overrun the true time by ten days. The Gregorian year was introduced into England in 1752, when a correction of eleven days was made in the calendar, Julian time is still in use, under the term Old Style, in Russia. The Gregorian rule, that a day be intercalated every four years, but that the intercalation be omitted on the first, second, and third, to be resumed on the fourth, century, is sufficiently accurate to need no correction for 4,000 years, when one day has again to be omitted from the centennial intercalation.

The decree of Canopus, dated on the 17th of the month Tybi, in the 9th year of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt,¹ shows that the Egyptian chronologists were unaware of, or made no allowance for, the difference in the length of the sidereal and of the solar years; as the rising of Sothis, or Sirius, is referred to as advancing one day in four years. From the double date upon the Rosetta Stone, which is in exact accordance with the dates of eclipses given by Claudius

¹ *Records of the Past*, vol. viii.

Ptolemy in the *Almagest* in terms of the Egyptian year, the tropical date of the 1st day of Thoth, in the vague Egyptian year, can be calculated for any period of history. In A.D. 208 the 1st of Thoth coincided with the 1st day of July of the Gregorian style, and in B.C. 550 with the 1st of January.

The coincidences of the dates of the vague Egyptian years with the events before named are as follows. The Exodus, which occurred according to the Pentateuch on the 15th day of the month called Abib in the Bible, Nisan in later Jewish times, and as Josephus mentions, Xanthicus by the Greeks, fell in the Egyptian month Pharmuthi (2 Ant. 14. 6, and 15. 2), the fourth month of the second tetrameny, or division of the year into three. It was also, of course, in the first year of the septennial reckoning. These two notes of time coincide with the date B.C. 1541, which, on other grounds, has been assigned in the restored Sacred reckoning as the date of the Exodus. If the late date which some Egyptian scholars assign to the Exodus were correct, the 15th of Nisan would have fallen, not in the month Pharmuthi, but in Mechir, two months earlier.

A statement of Clement of Alexandria to the effect that the Crucifixion took place on the 25th day of the Egyptian month Phamenoth, is cited by Canon Browne, in his work called '*Ordo Sæculorum*.' In the year 30 A.D. the 25th of Phamenoth fell on the 15th of Nisan, which corresponds to the 5th of April of the Gregorian style, and which the balance of evidence shows to have been the actual date.

It is generally assumed that the septennial reckoning of years commenced at the Exodus. There is little doubt that the reckoning of the sevens of sevens, or Years of Jubilee, ran from that date. But there is some reason for supposing that this method of notation, as well as the existence of the ordinary week, are as old as the Book of Genesis itself; that is to say, as the earlier part of its historic narrative. The through reckoning given in the annexed Tables commences with the first year of a week which still recurs with uninterrupted regularity in the Jewish calendar. The seven years of Jacob's servitude to Laban coincide with a week of years. The ex-

pression after two⁰ years of days,' which occurs in the commencement of the 41st chapter of the Book of Genesis, in reference to the time of Joseph's advancement, is also that proper to designate the second year of the septennate, with which, B.C. 1981, the year in question actually coincides. Thus the septennial reckoning, an exact coincidence with which is necessary to the verification of any Jewish date, appears to have been used by the author of the Book of Genesis from the very commencement of the 5th, or first serial, chapter.

Slight difficulties in historic synchronisms may arise from the different mode in which different people commenced their calendar, as well as from differences in the conventional meaning of the words they employ. Thus we should naturally understand by 'after two years' that the third year was implied, whereas it is the usual Jewish mode of designating the second year. We have seen that the regnal years of the Jewish kings are stated in the Mishna to have commenced on the 1st day of Nisan. The general rule was that the first day of the year which fell in a new reign was termed the beginning of that reign, whether it was in Nisan, as with the Jewish kings, or in Thoth, with the Egyptians or Assyrians. Thus if a king acceded on the first day of the year and reigned but a single day, that year would be called the first of his reign; while if he reigned for only 364 days, acceding on the second day of the year, his name would not appear in the regnal lists. This rule is no doubt taken from the practice of the eponymy, or naming the year from the king, consul, or other officer, which was the case with the consuls at Rome, and with the eponymous officers in Assyria. The difference of a year, in reckoning the years of Nebuchadnezzar, which exists between the 2nd Book of Kings and the Book of Jeremiah, may with great probability be attributed to this cause. In the 27th verse of the last chapter of the 2nd Book of Kings it is said that 'in the year of his reign' (probably meaning at the beginning) Evil Mero-dach, king of Babylon, on the 27th day of the month Adar, set at liberty Jehoiachin, king of Judah, in the 37th year of the Galuth, or exile. These latter years, as we are aware

reckoned from Nisan. It is not so clear from what point the Assyrian year reckoned. In an inscription of Assur-bani-pal¹ Mr. George Smith speaks of the month of Ab as the month of Sagittarius, which is a displacement of the Jewish month quite consonant with the statement of Rabbi Obadiah de Bartonora, that the reigns of foreign kings reckoned from 1st of Tisri. But if the liberation occurred immediately on the death of Nebuchadnezzar, at the close of the Jewish year, but in the midst of the Assyrian year—the succeeding year, B.C. 562 (a Sabbatic year), being the first of Evil Merodach according to the Regal Canon—it is easy to see how a difficulty in reckoning might arise to the historian. The Thoth of the vague year at this time fell on our present 4th of January. The 27th Adar in the year in question fell on the 13th or 14th of February. It is thus evident that very exact knowledge of local use must be possessed in order to arrive at absolutely exact synchronisms. With this reserve, as far as modern research has thrown light on Assyrian and on Egyptian chronology, its accordance with that of the Hebrew Scriptures is exact.

For any further chronological details the chapter on Synchronisms and Tables III. to IX., inclusive, may be conveniently consulted. In one single instance is there a departure from the details given in the Authorised Version. This is with reference to the length of the rule of Ehud. The Hebrew and the Greek concur in putting this at 80 years. And so does the text of the Antiquities. But in the commencement of the following chapter (5 Ant. 5. 1) Josephus states that the servitude under Jabin, king of Canaan, commenced before there had been time to breathe a little from that under Eglon. This expression is inconsistent with the lapse of an interval of 80 years. Nor is such an interval consistent either with the period of 300 years from the Conquest of Bashan to the time of Jephthah (Judges 11. 26), or with that of 480 years from the settlement of Palestine to the 4th year of Solomon (1 Kings 6. 1). In this instance, therefore, and in this alone, in accordance with

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 366.

the views of Dr. Whiston, what appears to be an error of the transcribers of substituting 80 for 8, has been corrected. The case is one, in which the minor period is controlled by the certain length of the major period which includes it. With this exception, almost the only passage of the Old Testament which presents any further chronological difficulty is the question to what event the 65 years mentioned in Isaiah 7. 8 may be taken to refer.

TABLE III.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE BIBLE.

* Signifies 'death of.'

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Events and Authorities	B.C.
2549	2	Birth of ABRAHAM	2261
2582	7	Observations of Eclipses commenced at BABYLON, 1,903 years before capture by ALEXANDER the Great	2228
2624	7	ABRAHAM leaves HARAN, and goes to EGYPT, where the Fourteenth dynasty of Egyptian kings reigned at Xoïs	2186
2629	5	Battle of Valley of SIDDIM. CHERDOR-LAOMER King of ELAM	2181
2635	4	Birth of ISHMAEL	2175
2648	3	Destruction of Cities of the Plain. ABRAHAM goes to GERAR. ABIME-LECH, King of GERAR	2162
2649	4	Birth of ISAAC	2161
2655	3	Eclipse of the Sun visible in CHINA. The Astronomers Hi and Ho put to death for not having predicted it	2155
2709	1	Birth of JACOB and ESAU	2101
2792	7	Seventh year of JACOB's service to LABAN	2018
2816	3	Sale of JOSEPH, at. 17. The HYKSOS, the Seventeenth dynasty, then reigning in TANIS	1994
2829	2	Second year of week. Gen. 41. 1. *ISAAC	1981
2839	5	JACOB goes to EGYPT, in second year of death	1971
2856	1	* JACOB	1954
2909	5	* JOSEPH	1901
3103	3	Eighteenth dynasty established at THEBES	1707
3183	6	* THOTHMES II. Queen HATASU reigns alone	1627
3186	2	Birth of MOSES	1624

TABLE III.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Events and Authorities	B.C.
		Ethiopian War. 2 Ant. 10. 2, (Inscriptions)	
3226	7	Flight of MOSES	1584
		* THOTHMES IV. AMENOPHIS III. succeeds	
3269	1	EXODUS on 15 Nisan -- 28 <i>Pharmuthi</i>	1541
3309	6	Passage of JORDAN. 10 Nisan. 400 years from death of JOSEPH. 2 Ant. 9. 1, Acts 7. 6	1486
			1501
3317	7	Sabbatic year. Rest from war. Josh. 11. 23; 14. 15. First Year of Jubilee.	1493
3324	7	Sabbatic year. Rest. Josh. 21. 44; 23. 1	1486
3333	2	JOSHUA. 5 Ant. 1. 29	1477
		CITUSILAN RISHATHAIM, King of Mesopotamia	
3409	1	Servitude to EGLON King of Moab	1401
3427	5	* EGLON	1383
3435	6	* EHUD. 5 Ant. 4. 3, note by Dr. Whiston	1375
		Rule of JABIN King of HAZOR	
3449	6	RAMSES II. King of EGYPT, invades KHITA	1361
3452	2	ASKALON taken by RAMSES II.	1358
3455	5	* SISERA	1355
		Rule of MIDIANITES	
3502	3	* OREB. * ZEEB	1308
3542	1	* GIDEON. Jud. 8. 28	1268
3545	3	* ABIMELECH King of SHECHEM. Jud. 9. 22	1265
3568	6	* TOLA. Jud. 10. 2	1242
3590	7	* JAIR. Jud. 10. 3	1220
3608	4	JEPHTHA made <i>Katzin</i> . Jud. 11. 6. 26. 300 years after conquest of BASHAN	1202
3614	3	* JEPHTHA. Jud. 12. 7	1196
3621	3	* IBZAN. Jud. 12. 9	1189
3631	6	* ELON. Jud. 22. 11	1179
3639	7	* ABDON. Jud. 12. 14.	1171
		Rule of PHILISTINES. Jud. 13. 1	
3679	5	* SAMSON. Judge for 20 years. Jud. 15. 20	1131
3719	3	* ELI, High Priest, and his Sons	1091
	1	Anointing of SAUL King of ISRAEL	
3759	1	* SAUL, 400 years from EXODUS. Acts 13. 26	1051

TABLE III.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Events and Authorities	B.C.
3766	1	DAVID takes JERUSALEM. 2 Sam. 5. 7	1044
3775	3	Birth of SOLOMON.	1035
3799	6	DAVID	1011
3803	3	2 Zif. Temple founded in 480th year from Rest, An. Sac. 3324. 1 Kings 6. 1	1007
3830	2	Accession of Twenty-second dynasty in EGYPT	980
3839	4	SOLOMON. 1 Kings 11. 42	971
3844	2	SHISHAK takes JERUSALEM. 1 Kings 14. 25	966
3856	7	Sabbatic year. REHOBOAM. 1 Kings 15. 1	954
3859	3	War between ISRAEL and JUDAH. ABIJAH	951
3860	4	REHOBOAM. 1 Kings 14. 20	950
3861	5	NADAB. 1 Kings 15. 25	949
3885	1	BAASHA. 1 Kings 15. 33	925
3886	2	ELAH. 1 Kings 16. 8	924
		ZIMRI. 1 Kings 16. 15	
3887	3	OMRI. 1 Kings 16. 28	923
3900	2	ASA. 1 Kings 15. 24	910
3901	3	ASSYRIAN CANON commences. BILANIR II.	909
3918	6	AHAB. 1 Kings 16. 29. ELIJAH, prophet	892
3919	7	Sabbatic year. AHAZIAH. 1 Kings 22. 51	891
3925	6	JEHOSAPHAT. 1 Kings 22. 42	885
3933	7	JEHORAM King of ISRAEL. 2 Kings 3. 1	877
		DATE OF MOABITE STONE. ELISHA, prophet	
		JEHORAM King of JUDAH. 2 Kings 8. 17	
3934	1	AHAZIAH. 2 Kings 9. 27	876
3940	7	Sabbatic year. (Day of Atonement fell on Sabbath.) ATHALIAH. 2 Kings 11. 4. The King reads the Law in the Temple	870
3945	5	Eclipse of the Moon on 25 <i>Mesori</i> . (Karnak inscription).	865
3952	5	Accession of SHALMANEZER II. (Black obelisk)	858

TABLE III.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Events and Authorities	B.C.
3954	7	Sothis rose on 1 <i>Tybi</i> , anno 11 of TAKE- LUT II. King of EGYPT	856
3959	5	Eclipse of the Moon. Defeat of forces of SYRIA, EGYPT, ARABIA, and PALES- TINE, at ARGER, by SHALMANEZER. (Black obelisk)	851
3963	2	✠ JERU. 2 Kings 10. 36	847
3967	6	✠ BENHADAD King of Syria	843
3969	1	SHALMANEZER at war with HAZAEL, King of SYRIA; receives tribute from King of ISRAEL	841
3978	3	✠ JEHOAHAZ. 2 Kings 13. 1	832
3980	5	✠ JOASH King of JUDAH. 2 Kings 12. 1.	830
3982	7	Second Cycle of ASSYRIAN EPONYMES commences	828
3994	5	✠ JEHOASH King of ISRAEL. 2 Kings 13. 13	816
4000	6	✠ AMAZIAH. 2 Kings 14. 2	801
4015	5	Invasion of PALESTINE by Assyrians. Subjection of MARIBAH King of DA- MASCUS	795
4020	5	Accession of SHALMANEZER III.	781
4034	3	1st year of FIRST OLYMPIAD, be- ginning on Full Moon in Cancer. Eclipse of Sun recorded in China, on 27 Aug. 6th year of YEW WANG	776
4035	4	Interregnum. 2 Kings 14. 23; cf. 15. 1	775
4038	7	Assyrians invade SYRIA and HADRACH	772
4045	7	Assyrians invade HADRACH	765
4046	1	Accession of ZACHARIAH. 2 Kings 15. 8	764
4047	2	ECLIPSE OF THE SUN, 15 June. (Assyrian records). Cf. Amos 8. 9. Tribute from King of ISRAEL	763
		Accession of SHALLUM	
		Accession of MEHALEM	
4055	3	Assyrians invade HAMATH and ARPAD	755
4057	5	11 Kalends of May. CITY OF ROME FOUNDED	753
4058	6	Accession of PEKAHIAH. 2 Kings 15. 23	752
4061	2	✠ UZZIAH. 2 Kings 15. 27. Accession of PEKAH	749
4062	3	ERA OF NABONASSAR, 1st of <i>Thoth</i> , fell on 17 Feb. 4062-3	748

TABLE III.—continued.

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Events and Authorities	B.C.
4065	6	Accession of TIGLATH PILESER II. in NINEVEH.	745
4067	1	Assyrian Campaign in Syria. Cf. 2 Ki.	743
4077	4	* JOTHAM. 2 Kings 16. 1 . . . [15. 29]	733
4078	5	Assyrian Campaign in PHILISTIA.	732
4079	6	Interregnum in SAMARIA. 2 Kings 15. 2, 30.	731
4083	3	Accession of SHALMANEZER IV.	727
4086	6	Siege of SAMARIA commenced. 2 Kings 17. 3	724
4089	2	Fall of SAMARIA. Two Eclipses of the Moon. (<i>Almagest</i> .)	721
4090	3	Accession of SARGON. (Khorsabad Text)	720
4091	4	Eponymy of 'SARGON the King'.	719
4093	6	* AHAZ. 2 Kings 16. 2 . . .	717
4099	5	Capture of ASHDOD by SARGON Is. 20. 1	711
4105	4	1st year of SENNACHERIB at NINEVEH. Interregnum at BABYLON.	705
4107	6	Eclipse of Sun. SENNACHERIB invades Palestine.	703
4108	7	Sabbatic year (2 Kings 19. 29), (date of Bellini Cylinder)	702
4121	6	Eclipse of Sun (2 Chron. 29. 1)	689
4122	7	* HEZEKIAH	688
4129	7	* SENNACHERIB. ESARHADDON succeeds him at NINEVEH and at BABYLON. (Monumenta)	681
4140	4	Invasion of Egypt. MANASSEH sends tribute	670
4144	1	ASSYRIAN EPONYMES END.	666
4146	3	* ESARHADDON. A king of JUDÆA pays tribute to ASHURBANIPAL. Cf. 2 Chron. 28. 11.	664
4155	5	Eclipse of the Sun. Cf. Hab. 3. 11. End of Great Cylinder, A, of ASHURBANIPAL.	655
4177	6	* MANASSEH. 2 Kings 21. 1 . . .	633
4179	7	* AMON. 2 Kings 21. 19 . . .	631
4184	6	Accession of NABOPOLASSAR at BABYLON	626
4196	4	Great Passover. 2 Chron. 35. 19 . . .	614
4200	1	Eclipse of Sun . . .	610
4205	6	Accession of NEBUCHADNEZZAR at BABYLON . . .	605

TABLE III.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Events and Authorities	B.C
4210	4	Battle of MEGIDDO (2 Kings 23. 29) * King JOSIAH. Deposition of JEHOSHAPHAT by Necho. Era of GALUTH, used by JEREMIAH and EZEKIEL.	600
4214	1	Battle of CARCHEMISH. * Necho. Jer. 46. 2	596
4215	2	1st year of NEBUCHADNEZZAR in PALESTINE. Three years of JEHOIAKIM's submission follow.	595
4219	6	Revolt. ERA OF LXX YEARS' AFFLICTION. Cf. Jer. 25. 11; 2 Kings 24. 2	591
4221	1	* JEHOIAKIM. Captivity of JECONIAH	589
4222	2	First deportation. 2 Kings 24. 16	588
4225	5	Eclipse of the Sun. (Eclipse of THALES)	585
4227	7	Sabbatic year. Jer. 34. 8	583
4232	5	11th year of GALUTH of JECONIAH (Ezek. 29. 17; 30. 20) and 27th year of NEBUCHADNEZZAR in BABYLON. Ezek. 29. 17	578
4233	6	Fall of JERUSALEM. Temple burnt on Friday, 9 Ab = 1 August. JEHOIARIB coming into course	577
4238	4	Third deportation. Jer. 52. 30	572
4247	6	* NEBUCHADNEZZAR, 25 Adar, in 37th year from Battle of Megiddo	563
4248	7	Sabbatic year, and 21st Year of Jubilee	562
4250	2	1st year of NERIKASSOLASSAR (Cannon)	560
4254	6	1st year of NABONADUS (Cannon)	556
4271	2	CYRUS takes BABYLON. NABONADUS flies to BORSIPPA	539
4273	4	Temple recommenced. Ezra 3. 8	537
4279	3	1st year of CAMBYSES	531
4284	1	Accession of Persian dynasty in EGYPT	526
4288	5	1st year of DARIUS, son of HYSTASPES	522
4289	6	END OF LXX YEARS' AFFLICTION. Cf. Zech. 1. 12; 182½ years from 14th year of HEZEKIAH; 10 Ant. Epigraph	521
4293	3	Temple finished on 3 Adar. Ezra 6. 15	517
4300	3	FALL OF REGAL POWER AT ROME, A. U. C. 244	510
4332	7	Eclipse of the Sun. (Eclipse of XERXES)	478

TABLE III.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Events and Authorities	B.C.
4340	1	Eclipse of the Sun. (Eclipse of Battle of PLATEA)	470
4344	5	1st year of ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS	466
4350	4	EZRA made Governor on 1 Ab. Ezra 7. 1, 9. Six days of the week are referred to in this year in the Book of EZRA. The omission of the Sabbath verifies the determination of the years	460
4363	3	NEHEMIAH made Tirshatha. Neh. 2. 1	447
4375	1	End of Book of NEHEMIAH	435
4376	2	ERA OF METONIC CYCLE. New moon of <i>Skirrophoreon</i> fell on 1st degree of Cancer. Eclipse of the Sun. Thucydides, lib. ii.	434
4405	3	1 ARTAXERXES II. In this year JESUS killed his brother JONATHAN, and BAGOSSES profaned the Temple. 11 Ant. 7. 1	405
4474	2	1 DARIUS III. Capture of TYRE and of GAZA by ALEXANDER the Great. 11 Ant. 8. 4	336
4477	5	ALEXANDER the Great visits JERUSALEM. 11 Ant. 8. 5	333
4479	7	Eclipse of the Moon. Battle of ARBELA	331
4486	7	* ALEXANDER on 28 <i>Darius</i> , 253 years 9 months from destruction of Temple. 11 Ant. Epigraph	324
		PHILIPPINE ERA	
4498	5	ERA OF SELEUCIDÆ. 23 <i>Hyperberetæus</i> = 26 September	312
4500	7	Sabbatic year. Eclipse of the Sun (AGATHOCLES)	310
4505	5	1 PTOLEMY, son of LAGUS. He takes JERUSALEM on the Sabbath. 12 Ant. 1. 1	305
4525	4	1 PTOLEMY II. PHILADELPHUS	285
		LXX. VERSION OF THE LAW	
4585	1	1 ANTIOCHUS the Great Devastation of JUDÆA by war. 12 Ant 3. 3	225
4591	7	1 PTOLEMY EPIPHANES. SCOPAS defeated by ANTIOCHUS at the Springs of JORDAN. 12 Ant. 3. 3	219

TABLE III.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Events and Authorities	B.C.
•		BATANEA, SAMARIA, ABILA, and GADARA subdued. The Jews protected by ANTIOCHUS. Marriage of ANTIOCHUS with CLEOPATRA, daughter of PTOLEMY. Dan. 11. 6. CÆLO-SYRIA, SAMARIA, JUDÆA, and PHENICIA given as her dowry. 12 Ant. 4. 1	
4605	7	JOSEPH farms the taxes. 12 Ant. 4. 10	205
4614	2	DATE OF ROSETTA STONE, 18 <i>Mechir, anno 11</i> PTOLEMY EPIPHANES = 4 <i>Xanthicus</i>	196
4627	1	* JOSEPH	183
4634	1	ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES invades JUDÆA (Dan. 11. 22), and deprives JESUS of the Pontificate. Gymnasium built at Jerusalem	176
4636	3	Eclipse of Moon, 7 PHILOMETOR (<i>Almagest</i>). Conquest of EGYPT. ANTIOCHUS retreats before the ROMANS. Dan. 11. 30	174
4640	7	Sabbatic year. ANTIOCHUS takes City and Temple. 12 Ant. 5. 4; cf. Dan. 11. 31	170
4642	2	Desecration of Temple in second year of week. 1 Macc. 1. 30	168
4645	5	Restoration of Temple, 25 Cisleu. 12 Ant. 7. 7	165
4647	7	Sabbatic year. 12 Ant. 9. 5. ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR takes JERUSALEM, 414 years after NEBUCHADNEZZAR. 20 Ant. 10. 1	163
4650	3	* ALCIMUS	160
4653	6	Temple built at HELIOPOLIS	157
4657	3	ALEXANDER EPIPHANES occupies PROLEMAIS. JONATHAN puts on Pontifical robes	153
4659	5	Marriage of ALEXANDER and CLEOPATRA	151
4661	7	APOLLONIUS. invades CÆLO-SYRIA. Temple of DAGON at ASHDOD burnt	149
4667	6	SIMON Ethnarch of the Jews. 13 Ant. 6. 7. Coins extant	143
4671	3	SIMON takes AFRA, or MILLO	139
4674	6	* SIMON and his Sons. End of 1st Book of Maccabees	136
4675	7	Sabbatic year. 13 Ant. 8. 1.	135

TABLE III.—continued.

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Events and Authorities	B.C.
4696	7	Sabbatic year. HYRCANUS establishes his independence. Coins extant .	114
4699	3	SADDUCEES obtain predominance. Blank in <i>Mishna</i> for 33 years	111
4705	2	* HYRCANUS. 471 years 3 mo. from Captivity. 1 Wars 3. 1. ARISTOBULUS assumes the diadem. Coins extant .	105
4706	3	* ARISTOBULUS	104
4732	1	* ALEXANDER. PHARISEES regain power. Coins of Queen ALEXANDRA extant	78
4747	2	POMPEY takes JERUSALEM on Friday, 26 Sivan. Coins of ANTIGONUS extant	63
4766	7	* JULIUS CÆSAR on the Ides of March .	44
4770	4	HEROD made King by Roman Senate .	40
4773	7	Sabbatic year. 14 Ant. 16. 4. HEROD takes JERUSALEM. Coins of HEROD extant	37
4775	2	* ARISTOBULUS. End of hereditary High Priests	35
4779	6	Battle of Actium. ERA OF ROMAN EMPIRE. HILLEL President of Sanhedrin; the office thence hereditary for 400 years	31
4787	7	Sabbatic year. Famine. 15 Ant. 9. 1 .	23
4799	5	Temple of HEROD finished	11
4804	3	Course of ABIA in course of function at Feast of Lights. 25 Cisleu = Thursday, 7 December	6
4806	4	* HEROD the Great, on 7 Cisleu. Eclipse of Moon on 15 March. (Chrono-astrolabe, p. 119). The NATIVITY is supposed to have occurred at this time (17 Ant. 6. 5).	4
4809	1	—	1
VULGAR ERA.			A.D.
4810	2	—	1
4815	7	ARCHELAUS deposed. Coins extant. CYRENIUS President of Syria, imposes the Census. COPONIUS, procurator of Judæa (18 Ant. 1. 1)	6

TABLE III.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Events and Authorities	A.D.
4819	4	M. AMBIVIVUS, procurator	10
4822	7	ANNIUS RUFUS, procurator	13
4823	1	* AUGUSTUS. VALERIUS GRATUS, procurator	14
4834	5	PONTIUS PILATE, procurator	25
4838	2	Power of life and death for three crimes taken from Supreme Sanhedrin . .	29
4839	3	CRUCIFIXION, on Friday, 15 Nisan .	30
4844	1	PILATE recalled. MARCELLUS, procurator	35
4847	4	MARULLUS, procurator. AGRIPPA receives the Tetrarchies of HEROD, PHILIP, and of LYSANIAS	38
4848	5	ANIPAS banished to GAUL	39
4850	7	Murder of CALIGULA. Sabbatic year .	41
4853	3	* AGRIPPA, æt. 54. CUSPIUS FADUS, procurator	44
4856	6	TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, procurator . .	47
4858	1	* HEROD King of CHALCHIS. AGRIPPA II. succeeds. VENTIDIUS CUMANUS, procurator	49
4861	4	BATANEA, TRACHONITIS, and ABILENE given to AGRIPPA. CLAUDIUS FELIX, procurator	52
4863	6	* CLAUDIUS	54
4865	1	PORCIUS FESTUS, procurator. (St. Jerome)	56
4868	4	End of the Acts of the Apostles . .	59
4873	2	First Persecution of Christians . .	64
4874	3	GESSIUS FLORUS, procurator	65
4875	4	Jewish War begins	66
4879	1	Destruction of JERUSALEM. Temple burnt on Friday, 9 Ab	70
4883	5	Fall of MASADA	74
4904	5	Second Persecution. Latest coin of AGRIPPA	95
4916	3	Third Persecution	107
4924	4	Sedition of Jews in CYRENE and EGYPT	115
4927	7	Fourth Persecution	118
4941	7	Jewish War	132
4943	1	SEVERUS sent from BRITAIN to JUDÆA.	134
4944	2	Fall of BETHER. End of War . . .	135

CHAPTER II.

HISTORIC SYNCHRONISMS.

IN the preceding chapter the attention of the reader has been directed to the sources now accessible for the determination of the Chronology of the Bible, as referred to astronomical time. It will be of use further to give some account of the most important and instructive synchronisms between the accounts given in the Sacred History of those events which are intimately connected with the history of the surrounding nations, and those which are given in the historic monuments of the latter.

By the expression 'Monuments,' when used in a chronological sense, is intended in these pages any ancient record which is so preserved that no question can arise as to error of transcription. It does not, of course, follow that the record is true. But it is the case that the most fertile and perplexing cause of error has been eliminated.

Monuments, thus regarded, comprise hieroglyphics, or graven inscriptions, on stone, marble, or baked clay; coins; and papyri. The *stelæ* in Egyptian temples; the rock inscriptions of Behistan; the Rosetta Stone, which may be seen in the British Museum; the sepulchral papyri, and other relics of this ancient and imperishable material, such as the Turin papyrus, which first threw clear light on the dynasties of Manetho, and the magnificent Harris papyrus 133 feet long, which has been reproduced in *fac-simile* by the order of the Trustees of the British Museum; the basalt and other inscribed *stelæ* and cylinders of Syrian and Assyrian kings; the clay tablets, containing contracts, almanacks, syllabaries, and other matter in cunei-

form script, to the store of which each year makes such important additions; all come under this designation. So also does that long series of Jewish coins, extending from the very morrow of the return from Babylon to the extinction of the Jewish kingdom on the death of Agrippa II., which have in the following pages been arranged in accordance with the full information to be collected from Hebrew writers, alike as to sacred or secular character, as to weight, and as to date.

The earliest positive date that has yet been recovered by Assyrian scholars is that of the capture of Erech by Kudur Nan Nundi, king of Elam, An. Sac. 2530. This city occupies a site, now known by the name of Warka, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, in between 31° and 32° of north latitude. It is mentioned in the Book of Genesis as one of the capitals of Nimrod. The date in question is nineteen years before that of the birth of the patriarch Abraham, and is of value as showing the extent, at that early time, of the power of the kings of Elam, of which, a century later, we have a notice in the Book of Genesis (14. 5).

It also affords some confirmation of the accuracy of the dates of Berosus, as recorded by Syncellus, which place the accession of the 2nd, or Medic, dynasty of kings at Babylon in An. Sac. 2575; an epoch which is just ten years before the death of the patriarch Terah, in Haran, after his departure with Abram his son from Ur of the Chaldeans. The chief importance of these dates, as regards Scripture history, is the verification which they afford of that early distribution of power in the Western part of Asia, as to which no information whatever, except the references in the Book of Genesis, was possessed by modern students, before the commencement of the study of cuneiform writing. It is to be hoped that we are only at the commencement of the recovery of the early history of Assyria and of Elam.

The migration of the patriarch Abraham brings his history into relation with that of Egypt. About the year An. Sac. 2211 (according to Brugsch) the 12th dynasty of Theban kings of Egypt came to a close. The old empire, which according

to Eratosthenes had then lasted for 1,076 years, was succeeded by two collateral and hostile dynasties; one of them the 13th Theban line; while the other was a foreign and invading race of sovereigns, who established their capital in the lower Egyptian town of Sakhan, or Khasan, called by the Greeks Xoïs.¹ This dynasty, together with the succeeding dynasty of the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings, whose capital was at San, or Tanis, in Lower Egypt (the Zoan of the Old Testament), divided the rule of the country with the Theban kings of the 13th, 15th, and 16th dynasties, for a period extending over rather more than 900 years. The relations of Abraham, of Jacob, and of Joseph with Egyptian history, and the rise of the 'new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph,' (Exod. 1. 8) are rendered more intelligible by the accordance of the chronology of the Philistine, or foreign, kings of the Delta, with the dates of these early patriarchs; and by the knowledge of the establishment, about An. Sac. 3104, of the great 18th dynasty at Thebes, which finally expelled the Hyksos, and placed the diadems of Upper and of Lower Egypt upon the same brow.

Of the reign of the Hyksos Eusebius writes:—*Horum tempore ut imperaret Egyptum Josephus apparuit.* The dates of some of these kings are cited by Josephus¹ from the Egyptian historian Manetho. But the most valuable record concerning this time which has yet been discovered, the Turin papyrus, is much dilapidated at this part. We can only compare the dates of the sale of Joseph into Egypt (An. Sac. 2816), and of his death (An. Sac. 2909), with the fact of the contemporary rule of the Shepherd kings (whether they were, as Josephus says, Phœnicians, or more probably Philistines) in Lower Egypt, and note the rise and aggrandisement of the great 18th dynasty, and the final expulsion of the Hyksos, as recorded in the monuments, about 300 years after the date of the death of Joseph.

With the 18th dynasty, however, we come into clearer historic light. Thothmes the Second, who died in or about An. Sac. 3183 (which year is the date of the birth of Aaron), was succeeded on the throne by his sister Ha-Ta-Su, one of the

¹ *Cont. Apion.* 1. 14.

greatest sovereigns ever known in Egypt. She reigned under the title of King Ma-Ka-Ra. The splendour of her reign is yet attested by the remnants of her noble temples and other sculptured and inscribed works. On one of these, the memorial effigy of her architect, Semnut, is engraved the inscription 'Nen kem em an apu.'¹ 'There were not found in writing his ancestors.' The synchronism which points out that, in the year of the birth of Moses, it was the duty of this magnificent princess to perform the sacred rites connected with the annual rise of the Nile, gives a force and beauty to the 2nd chapter of Exodus which have hitherto been entirely obscured. We have not here the case of an unnamed princess, furtively protecting one of the victims of her father's law. The 'Bath Pharaoh' was herself supreme. The word translated 'wash herself' is stated by Gesenius properly only to refer to sacred rites. The bringing up of the babe by the queen, and his instruction in 'all the wisdom of the Egyptians,' were not only matters of sovereign order, but were thoroughly consistent with the character of the princess.

The remarkable chapter of Josephus (2 Ant. 10), which describes the conduct of the Ethiopian war by Moses, is no less accordant with the records of the monuments. Queen Ha-Ta Su was succeeded by her brother Thothmes the Third, who in the earlier part of his reign was associated with his sister on the throne. The date of her death is not quite clear; but that of Thothmes III. was in or about An. Sac. 3231, at the close of a period, including the joint and the single reigns, of 54 years. The temples built and adorned by these great sovereigns are full of records of wars in different parts of Asia and of Africa, and Nubians are represented as bringing tribute. The account given by Josephus, which is not found in the present Canon of the Pentateuch, may be regarded as a chapter of Egyptian history during the reign of Ha-Ta-Su or of her brother, written from the Jewish point of view.

The dates of this dynasty are not yet so precisely fixed as to enable us to determine whether the flight of Moses from Egypt

¹ Brugsch's *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 303.

occurred before or after the death of Thothmes III. That some expectation was entertained, as Josephus states, of the adoption of Moses by the childless queen, and even of his succession to the throne of Egypt, is in full accordance with much of the course of Egyptian history. No less probable is the conclusion that he was regarded with jealousy by the royal family; although the acknowledgment of the regal dignity of Thothmes III. must have taken place while the prince, as well as the prophet, was of comparatively tender years. The length of the reign of Amenophis II., the successor of Thothmes III., is as yet undetermined. But in An. Sac. 3265 (which a comparison of the characteristics of the plagues with the revolution of the Egyptian year indicates as the most probable date of the return of Moses to Egypt), the throne of Egypt was filled by Amenophis III., who succeeded Thothmes IV. in or about An. Sac. 3264. This king, whose great victories in Nubia and the Soudan are commemorated on the monuments, is represented by the most famous portrait-statue in the world, that of the vocal Memnon, which is, although seated, 70 English feet in height. He is termed on the monuments the 'Tamer of the Syrian Shepherds,' and 'the Pacificator of Egypt'—terms in which the courtly scribes of Egypt have probably given their own account of the Exodus. The 'Armenian Chronicle,' written at a time when chronological research, as we now regard it, was unknown, says of this prince, '*Hujus ætate Moyses Judæorum Egypto egressus dux fuit.*' The often-described tomb of Roschscere, which gives such a vivid representation of the toil of a Semitic people in brick-making, under the eye and the rod of Egyptian officers, dates in the reign of Thothmes IV. The reign of Amenophis III., according to Brugsch, extended over 35 years, terminating about 30 years after the Exodus. It must be observed, that the Pentateuch does not state that Pharaoh himself was drowned with his host; and that, had such a signal disaster occurred, it could not have failed to be distinctly celebrated by the triumphant Israelites.

The next important Egyptian event closely connected with the history of Palestine is the expedition of Ramses II. to the

banks of the Orontes, in his war against the King of Khita, which is represented, in sculpture as well as in hieroglyphic text; on the walls of the Temples of Abydos and Karnak. 'Wonderfully rich,' says Brugsch, 'is the great battle picture, which represents the fight of the chariots before Kadesh, on the banks of the Orontes.' The date which, according to Brugsch, is about An. Sac. 3449, falls during the reign of that Jabin, king of Canaan, who 'had nine hundred chariots of iron, and twenty years he mightily oppressed the Children of Israel' (Jud. 4. 3). Three years later King Ramses took the fortress of Ascalon. Further precision is desirable as to the details of the Egyptian, as well as of the Israelitish, record. But it is somewhat explanatory of the victory of ten thousand untrained men over a captain such as Sisera is described to have been, to learn how the power of the great northern Syrian king had been shattered by a conflict, just about the date of Barak's rule as Judge, with the warlike power of Egypt.

With the reign of Solomon, and of his son and successor, we arrive at another important synchronism with Egyptian history. The Biblical chronology gives the date, An. Sac. 3799, as that of the accession of Solomon. Within twenty years of this date (or at least within twenty years from the commencement of the building of the Temple in the 4th year of Solomon), that king had married a daughter of Pharaoh, and had been put in possession of the Canaanite city of Gezer, a capture of the King of Egypt. From An. Sac. 3700 to An. Sac. 3830, as nearly as the dates are ascertained, the 21st Egyptian dynasty, a priestly family which had succeeded the Ramessid line, was reigning both at Thebes and at Tanis. Little has been yet recovered of the chronicles of this dynasty, but there is mention made of war with the King of Assyria; and there is a remarkable ordinance engraved on a pylon in the Temple of Amon, at Karnak, relating to the restoration to a princess Karsm-at, or Mat-ke-ra, of her hereditary possessions in the South Country. But at a date which Brugsch approximately fixes as An. Sac. 3830, Shashank I., the son of an Assyrian sovereign named Nemaruth or Nimrod, became master of Egypt,

and commenced the twenty-second dynasty of Egyptian kings. This change of dynasty may explain the change of relation between the kings of Judæa and of Egypt, which is indicated by the support given by the latter, whose name is given in the Bible as Shishak (1 Kings 11. 40), to a fugitive from the former. On the death of Solomon, An. Sac. 3839, the division of the Kingdom of Israel was followed by an invasion of the country left under the rule of the house of David by Shashank. This occurred, according to the 1st Book of Kings (14. 25) in the 5th year of Rehoboam (An. Sac. 3844). On the south external wall of the Temple of Amon at Thebes, is a representation of 'the colossal image of the Egyptian Sovereign dealing the heavy blows of his victorious club on the captive Jews.' The reign of Shashank is approximately dated by Brugsch as extending from An. Sac. 3830 to An. Sac. 3851, in his earlier work, and to An. Sac. 3863 in his latest volume.

The next period in which important light is thrown on the details of Sacred History by synchronous monumental dates is that which includes the fall of Samaria.

Among the difficulties which have retarded the complete interpretation of the cuneiform records, not the least formidable are those which concern the variable value of certain groups of expressions. In his '*Exposé des Eléments de la Grammaire Assyrienne*,' M. Joachim Menant remarks, 'The signs which express complete syllabic values may express several values. Thus, for example, the same sign may be read kal, rip, dan, or lip. These signs are essentially polyphones.' In other cases, unlike signs express the same value. These M. Menant calls homophones. 'Thus the expression An-sur-ut indicates an ideographic group composed of the signs An, sur, ut, but which must not be so articulated. It is known to have been pronounced Mar-duk.' This extraordinary anomaly may with great probability be explained by the hypothesis, that when an expression, whether originally phonetic or ideographic, was once applied to a country, nation, or dynasty, it was not varied in consequence of political changes. It may be doubted whether a dynastic name was always maintained, and pronounced in the

same manner, as in the case of the titles Pharaoh and Abimelech, or whether the same ideograph was differently pronounced, as in the names Omri, Jehu, Pekah, each sovereign being denoted by the same group of characters. But when we find on the cylinders of Sargon the expression which has been read 'Beth Omri' (or House of Ahab), it is certain that the kingdom, or king, of Israel is intended, and that the same term was applied to the dynasties of Ahab and Jehu, as well as to the succeeding usurpers, or kings by right of the sword.

Bearing this caution in mind, the coincidences of the Scriptures and the cuneiform records are accurate. The black obelisk of Shalmaneser II., who acceded An. Sac. 3959, records the defeat of the forces of South Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine, at Arcoer; and mentions the king of Israel under an ideograph which has been read as 'Ahab of Jezreel.' Between the coronation of Joash, king of Judah, in the Sabbatic year 3940, and the death of Jehu, king of Israel, An. Sac. 3961, no details of Sacred History are given in the Books of Kings. But the oppression of Israel by Hazael and Benhadad, kings of Syria, during the reign of Jehoahaz, son of Jehu, is referred to in the 2nd Book of Kings, as well as the deliverance from the hand of the Syrians (2 Kings 13. 5). In An. Sac. 3969, the Assyrian record mentions a war with Hazael, king of Syria, and the receipt of tribute from the King of Israel. After the death of Hazael the 2nd Book of Kings records the recovery from Benhadad of the cities which had been taken by the former king of Syria.

Early in the reign of Uzziah, who acceded in An. Sac. 4009, we find victories of that king mentioned over the Philistines and the Arabians (2 Chron. 26. 6-8). The prominence of either of the two sister and rival kingdoms of the Hebrews coincides, as a general rule, with the depression of the other. Thus in An. Sac. 4015, or the 6th year of Uzziah, we find in the Assyrian records an account of an invasion of Syria and North Palestine, and of the subjection of Maribah of Damascus. Again, in An. Sac. 4038, the 11th year of Shalmaneser III., the Assyrians were in Damascus and Hadrach, and a tribute is

mentioned from the King of Israel. The recovery of Damascus and Hamath for Israel by Jeroboam the Second, is in all probability connected with what the cuneiform records describe as the payment of tribute by the King of Israel to the Assyrian monarch. It may be hoped that further discoveries will clear up the vexed question of date (very probably indicating an interregnum) which has as yet been unsolved. (Cf. 2 Kings 14. 23 and 15. 8.)

There can be little hesitation in admitting that the verse of the Book of Kings which mentions Pul (2 Kings 15. 19) should be read 'Pul came from the king of Assyria,' or 'the king of Assyria sent Pul.' Shalmaneser III. was succeeded, An. Sac. 4039, by Ashur-dan-an; Ashur-anir succeeded him, An. Sac. 4057; and was followed by Tiglath-pileser II. in An. Sac. 4065. 'Despatches have been found written by an Assyrian officer who bore the name of Pul.'¹ The change of a single letter in the Hebrew text is enough to bring this verse into exact accordance with the monumental records, which mention the presence of the Assyrians in Hamath and Arpad, An. Sac. 4055, which was three years before the death of Menahem, who paid tribute through the hands of Pul.

Tiglath-pileser II. (as well as Shalmaneser IV.) is named in the 2nd Book of Kings (15. 29). From the cuneiform records we learn that the Assyrian forces were in Syria, Philistia, and Damascus in the 3rd, 11th, 13th, and 23rd years of the reign of Tiglath-pileser, and that in the last of these years that king defeated Resin, king of Syria, and received tribute from Yahu Hazi, king of Israel, in which form it is easy to recognize the name of Ahaz. This was in An. Sac. 4078, the year following the accession of Ahaz. The siege of Jerusalem by Resin, and Pekah king of Israel; the application of Ahaz for aid to Tiglath-pileser; the capture of Damascus, and slaughter of Resin by the latter; and the meeting of the two kings at Damascus, are mentioned in the same book. (2 Kings 16. 5-10.)

During the reign of Hezekiah the synchronisms between

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 448.

the Sacred and the profane records assume extreme importance. The Bible date of the accession of Hezekiah is An. Sac. 4093. The 1st year of Sennacherib, according to the Eponym list, coincided with An. Sac. 4105. Bearing in mind the possible difference in the commencement of the Sacred and the regnal years, the 14th year of Hezekiah coincides with the 3rd year of Sennacherib. The cylinders of Sennacherib give an account of the third campaign of that king, in which he subjected the kings of Palestine, took Askelon, and deposed Padi, king of Ekron, and in which the army of Egypt and Ethiopia advanced into Judah. The portion of the history containing the defeat of the Egyptians has not yet been recovered; but the text contains an account of the siege of Jerusalem, the capture of the cities of Judah, and the payment of tribute by Hezekiah to Sennacherib. The exact dates will, it is to be hoped, be hereafter recovered. The 4th year of Sennacherib, An. Sac. 4108, was a Sabbatic year, according to the septennial cycle; and the completion of the Assyrian chronicle will show whether the year in which the land of Judah remained untilled from fear of the invaders was the one preceding or following that in which it was left untilled in consonance with the Jewish law. (2 Kings 19. 29.)

The date of the capture of Samaria, and the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel, as to which the present text of the Books of Kings is not clear, will probably be exactly determined by the complete recovery of the records of Shalmaneser IV. The difficulty at present existing is as to the date of the accession of Hoshea, which is stated in one passage (2 Kings 15. 30) as occurring 'in the twentieth year of Jotham the son of Uzziah;' and in another (2 Kings 17. 1) 'in the twelfth year of Ahaz.' Jotham only reigned for sixteen years (2 Kings 15. 33); but the twentieth year from his accession, which was An. Sac. 4081, is eight years earlier than the 12th year of Ahaz. It is however consistent with the twenty years' reign of Pekah (2 Kings 15. 27). The capture of certain places in the kingdom of Israel by Tiglath-pileser is mentioned in the 2nd Book of Kings, and the conquest of Pekah, and the appointment of Hoshea to the king-

dom by Tiglath-pileser, are named in the inscriptions of that monarch.¹ These statements all agree, and are in accordance with the account of the capture of Samaria by Shalmaneser IV. or his successor, in the 9th year of Hoshea, which, according to their reckoning, was An. Sac. 4089, being the 7th year of Shalmaneser. The only difficulty is the reference in a subsequent chapter (2 Kings 18. 10) to the 9th year of Hoshea as synchronous with the 6th year of Hezekiah, An. Sac. 4099, which fell, not in the reign of Shalmaneser, but in that of his successor Sargon. The perplexity as to choice is not between the Sacred and the cuneiform record, but between the two statements in the former, which the full recovery of the latter may probably explain. There can be no doubt that Samaria was taken by Shalmaneser, An. Sac. 4089. Whether it was subsequently retaken by Sargon is not known. No mention of Samaria has been found in the octagonal cylinder, which contains a long text of the history of the reign of Sargon.² But in his ninth expedition (which Mr. George Smith dates as An. Sac. 4099), that monarch besieged and captured Ashdod, and received tribute from 'the people of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab.' This record gives the historic explanation of the reference to the capture of Ashdod in the Book of Isaiah (20. 1).

The references to Su, king of Egypt (called So, in the English version, Sua by St. Jerome, and Segor by the LXX., 2 Kings 17. 4), to Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (2 Kings 19. 9), to Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt (Jeremiah 44. 30), and to Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt (2 Kings 23. 34), are all illustrated by the recovery of the names of these kings in the monumental records: although the detailed chronology of the period has not as yet been recovered with precision. The 23rd dynasty of Egyptian kings, reigning at Thebes and at Tanis, the 24th dynasty, reigning at Sais and Memphis, and the 25th, or Ethiopian, dynasty, the kings of which are spoken of first as sovereigns of Ethiopia, and then as kings of Egypt, are not yet absolutely fixed as to date. But the regnal years

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 285.

² *Ibid.* p. 288.

of the kings of the 26th dynasty, reigning at Sais, are absolutely verified by the inscriptions on the *stelæ* recording the deaths of the sacred Bulls. The second king of this dynasty, Neku, reigned, according to Brugsch, from An. Sac. 4198 to An. Sac. 4214. The latter year, the 4th year of Jehoiachim, son of Josiah, king of Judah, is given by the prophet Jeremiah (46. 2) as the date of the overthrow of Pharaoh Necho by Nebuchadnezzar at the battle of Carchemish; and an absolute synchronism of cardinal importance is thus established between the Sacred Record and the monumental hieroglyphics of Egypt.

The three Ethiopian kings who constituted the 25th dynasty are called by modern Egyptian scholars Sabakhon or Shabak, Sebechos or Sethos, and Tarkos or Tirhakah. The recovery of their regnal dates, first as reigning in Ethiopia, and then as kings of Egypt, must be awaited before it is possible exactly to date the Scriptural references to So and to Tirhakah. Of the conflict of the latter king with the Assyrian power, a long and detailed account is given on a cylinder of Ashurbanipal, the successor of Esarhaddon. It may be consulted in 'Assyrian Discoveries,' and occupies a period of time, during which the Sacred Records are unusually silent, containing the disastrous reign of Manasseh. The date ascertained by Mr. George Smith for the close of the reign of Ashurbanipal coincides with the 1st year of Nabopolassar, according to the Regal Canon. The accord of the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian dates with those of the Sacred History is here found to be exact and absolute.

In his third expedition Ashurbanipal besieged and took Tyre, after having conquered Egypt, and twice taken Thebes, in his first and second campaigns. The fourth expedition of this king was against the east of Assyria. The fifth, seventh, and eighth were against Elam or Susiana; and the ninth against Arabia. There is no account on this cylinder of the captivity of Manasseh. But the details given are those of the campaigns personally conducted by the monarch, while the capture of Manasseh is said in the 2nd Book of Chronicles to have been

made by 'the captains of the king of Assyria.' Further details may be confidently expected from the researches still in progress.

'The accounts of the double capture of Thebes by Assurbanipal,' Mr. Philip Smith remarks, 'are of singular interest for the light they throw on the striking allusion to its fate in Nahum (3. 8-10) which had no known historical counterpart till the discovery of these records.'¹ It should be added, that this discovery shows that the date assigned by Josephus (9 Ant. 11. 3) to the prophecy of Nahum, as being 115 years before the fall of Nineveh, is erroneous. Thebes was taken by Ashurbanipal in his first, and again in his second, expedition.² The dates have not yet been exactly referred to the years of the king, but they are posterior to An. Sac. 4142. The date of the fall of Nineveh is not absolutely fixed. The attack made on it by Cyaxares and his allies was in An. Sac. 4177, according to the dates collected from Herodotus, and the capture, An. Sac. 4206, according to one calculation, and An. Sac. 4185 according to another. The earlier year is that of the accession of Nabopolassar, and the later that of Nebuchadnezzar. One hundred and fifteen years from the earlier date falls on the 9th year of the reign of Jotham, which is in accordance with the measure of time given by Josephus for the period from that king's reign to the destruction of Nineveh. But the reference to the destruction of Thebes as a past and well-known event cannot have been written until seventy years later than the date ascribed to the Book of Nahum on the authority of this passage of the Antiquities.

The period of the seventy years of servitude to the king of Babylon, which has involved so much controversy, and with reference to which an absolutely incorrect statement is made by Josephus, is made perfectly clear by the restoration of the true chronology. The year An. Sac. 4215, being the year after the battle of Carchemish, was the first year of the supremacy of Nebuchadnezzar in Palestine. Jehoiachim submitted to the king of Babylon for three years (2 Kings 24. 1) and then rebelled,

¹ *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 265.

² *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 323-328.

which brings us to An. Sac. 4219. Seventy years was the period named by Jeremiah for the servitude to the king of Babylon (25. 11). In the second year of Darius, An. Sac. 4289, the indignation is said to have lasted threescore and ten years (Zech. 1. 12). The synchronism between the two records is perfect.

One further illustration of the importance of astronomical exactitude may be given. In the fourth month of the fifth year of the Galuth, from the twelfth day (Ezek. 1. 1; 3. 16), Ezekiel was laid under a prophetic sequestration for 430 days. On the fifth day of the sixth month, in the following year, he 'sat in his house' (Ezek. 8. 1). The interval of time was 407 days, being 23 days too short a period for the accomplishment of the first command, if the year had been an ordinary one. The discrepancy vanishes when it is observed that the year 4227 was Embolismic, or consisting of thirteen months, so that four days elapsed between the close of the period intimated and the date of the succeeding vision.

TABLE IV.

THE DYNASTIES OF EGYPT.

Abbreviated from Isambert's 'Itinéraire de L'Orient,' the Dates being taken from Brugsch.

An. Sac.	
355	MENES founds MEMPHIS, and the <i>First DYNASTY</i> , of eight kings, reigns for 253 years.
608	<i>Second DYNASTY</i> , reigning at THINIS, or THIS, 302 years (ABYDOS), nine kings.
910	<i>Third DYNASTY</i> , reigning at MEMPHIS, 214 years, nine named kings.
1124	<i>Fourth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at MEMPHIS, 284 years, eight kings, including :
1153	2. SOUPHIS, or CHEOPS.
1216	3. SOUPHIS II., or CEPHREN.
1345	4. MENKARA, or MYCERINES.
1408	<i>Fifth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at ELEPHANTINE, 198 years, nine kings.
1606	<i>Sixth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at MEMPHIS, 203 years, ten kings and Queen NITOCRIS.
1809	<i>Seventh DYNASTY</i> , lasted only seventy days.
1809	<i>Eighth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at MEMPHIS, 146 years, sixteen kings.
—	<i>Ninth DYNASTY</i> , collateral, reigning at HERACLEOPOLIS, 100 years.
—	<i>Tenth DYNASTY</i> , collateral, reigning at HERACLEOPOLIS, 185 years.
1955	<i>Eleventh DYNASTY</i> , reigning at THEBES, 43 years.
1998	<i>Twelfth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at THEBES, 213 years, of whom the fourth king, SESOSTRIS, conquered ETHIOPIA, the fifth, built the Labyrinth, and the sixth, made Lake Moëris.
2211	<i>Thirteenth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at Thebes, 453 years, sixty kings, eight named SEBEEK HOTEF.
—	<i>Fourteenth DYNASTY</i> , collateral, reigning at Xoïs, 484 years, seventy-six kings, under the last kings of which line the HYKSOS founded a reign of 511 years.

TABLE IV.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	
2664	<i>Fifteenth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at THEBES, 250 years.
2914	<i>Sixteenth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at THEBES, 190 years, five kings.
2695	<i>Seventeenth DYNASTY</i> , HYKSOS, reigning at TANIS, 511 years, forty-three kings. In the time of these kings, according to <i>Eusebius</i> , JOSEPH ruled in EGYPT.
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SECOND PERIOD.—NEW MONARCHY.	
3104	<i>Eighteenth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at THEBES, 242 years, nine kings.
3161	THOTHMES II. 4th king.
—	Queen HA-TA-SU, or HATASOUT.
—	THOTHMES III. Expels HYKSOS, 3206.
3231	AMENOPHIS II.
—	THOTHMES IV.
3264	AMENOPHIS III.
3346	<i>Nineteenth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at THEBES, 176 years.
—	RAMESSU I.
—	SETI I.
—	RAMESSU II. MIAMUN.
—	MENEPHTAH.
—	Seven Kings.
3522	<i>Twentieth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at THEBES, 178 years, twelve kings. All but the 7th called RAMESSU.
DECLINE OF MONARCHY.	
3700	<i>Twenty-first DYNASTY</i> , reigning at TANIS, 130 years.
3830	<i>Twenty-second DYNASTY</i> , reigning at BUBASTIS, 170 years.
—	SESONKHOSIS, SHASHANK, or SHISHAK.
—	And five kings.
4000	<i>Twenty-third DYNASTY</i> , reigning at TANIS, 89 years.
—	<i>Twenty-fourth DYNASTY</i> , collateral, reigning at SAIS.
—	<i>Twenty-fifth DYNASTY</i> .—ETHIOPIAN (not fixed):
—	SABAKHON.
—	SEBEKHOS.
—	TAKKOS.
—	<i>Twenty-sixth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at SAIS.
4144	PSAMTEK I.
4193	NECHO.
4214	PSAMTEK II.
4219	OUAPHRIS (HOPHRA).
4238	AAHMES.
4282	PSAMTEK III.

TABLE IV.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	
—	<i>Twenty-seventh DYNASTY.</i> —PERSIAN KINGS:
4283	KAMBAT (<i>CAMBYSES</i>).
4289	NTARIOUS (<i>DARIUS</i>).
4324	KHESACH (<i>XERXES</i>).
4345	ARTAKHERCHES (<i>ARTAXERXES</i>).
4385	KHESACH II. (<i>XERXES?</i>).
—	SOGDIANUS.
4386	DARIUS NOTHUS.
—	<i>Twenty-eighth DYNASTY.</i>
—	AMYRTÆUS.
4411	<i>Twenty-ninth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at MENDES, four kings.
4432	<i>Thirtieth DYNASTY</i> , reigning at SEBENNYTUS, three kings.
—	<i>Thirty-first DYNASTY.</i> PERSIAN.
4470	OCHUS.
4472	ARSES.
4474	DARIUS III.
4478	Conquest by ALEXANDER the Great.

TABLE V.
PTOLEMY'S CANON OF KINGS.

(From the *Almagest* : Translation.)

OF THE ASSYRIANS AND MEDES.					
		Years	Sum.		
1	Nabonassar	14	14		
2	Nadius	2	16		
3	Chozirus and Porus	5	21		
4	Jongaius	5	26		
5	Mardocepadus	12	38		
6	Arkianus	5	43		
7	First interregnum	2	45		
8	Belibus	3	48		
9	Apronadius	6	54		
10	Rigebelus	1	55		
11	Messimordakus	4	59		
12	Second Interregnum	8	67		
13	Assaradinus	13	80		
14	Saosduchinus	20	100		
15	Ohuniladinus	22	122		
16	Nabopolassar	21	143		
17	Nabokolassar	43	186		
18	Ilouarodamus	2	188		
19	Nirikassolassar	4	192		
20	Nabonadius	17	209		
OF THE PERSIANS.					
21	Cyrus	9	218		
22	Cambyees	8	226		
23	Darius I.	36	262		
24	Xerxes	21	283		
25	Artaxerxes I.	41	324		

TABLE V.—*continued.*

		Years	Sum.
26	Darius II.	19	343
27	Artaxerxes II.	46	389
28	Ochus	21	410
29	Arogus	2	412
30	Darius III.	4	416
31	Alexander of Macedon	8	424

*YEARS OF THE KINGS AFTER THE DEATH OF
ALEXANDER.*

1	Philip, after Alexander the Founder	7	7
2	Alexander Aigos	12	19

KINGS OF THE GREEKS IN EGYPT.

3	Ptolemy Lagus	20	39
4	" Philadelphus	38	77
5	" Euergetes I.	25	102
6	" Philopater	17	119
7	" Epiphanes	24	143
8	" Philometor	35	178
9	" Euergetes II.	29	207
10	" Soter	36	243
11	" Dionysius	29	272
12	Cleopatra	22	294

KINGS OF THE ROMANS.

13	Augustus	43	337
14	Tiberius	22	359
15	Caligula	4	363
16	Claudius	14	377
17	Nero	14	391
18	Vespasian	10	401
19	Titus	3	404
20	Domitian	15	419
21	Nerva	1	420
22	Trajan	19	439
23	Adrian	21	460
24	Antoninus	23	483

End of Canon.

TABLE VI.

DYNASTY OF THE SELEUCIDÆ, OR GREEK KINGS
OF ASIA.

An. Sac.		B. C.
4498	Seleucus Nicator, acceded 23 <i>Hyperberetæus</i> = 26 September	312
4528	Antiochus (I.) Soter	282
4547	Antiochus (II.) Theos	263
4562	Seleucus (II.) Kallinicus	248
4580	Seleucus (III.) Keraunius	230
4585	Antiochus (III.) Megnas	225
4622	Seleucus (IV.) Philopater	188
4634	Antiochus (IV.) Epiphaues	176
4646	Antiochus (V.) Eupator	164
4648	Demetrius, son of Seleucus	162
4657	Alexander Balas	153
4664	Demetrius (II.) Nicanor	146
4665	Antiochus (VI.), son of Alexander Balas	145
4666	Tryphon	141
4672	Antiochus (VII.) Sidetes	138
4678	Demetrius—restored	132
4682	Alexander Sebina	128
4684	Antiochus (VIII.) Gryphus	126
4696	Antiochus (IX.) Cyzenicus	114
4714	Seleucus (VI.) Gryphus	96
4721	Antiochus (X.) Eusebus	89
4723	Philip	87
—	Demetrius	—
4727	Tigranes	83
4741	Lucullus defeats Tigranes	49

End of Seleucid Monarchy, after 244 years.

TABLE VII.

GENEALOGY OF THE PRINCES OF LEVI, JUDAH, EPHRAIM, AND BENJAMIN.

NOTE.—°.° Signifies absence of genealogical descent.

Abraham									
Isaac									
Jacob									
Esau	Levi	Kohat	Gershon	Joseph	Benjamin				
Eliphaz	Ibzar	Libni	Phares	Ephraim	Bela				
Teman	Korah	Jahath	Hezron	Beriah	Ard				
Beor	Assir	Zimnah	Jerahmeel	Rephah	Gera				
Bela	Elhanan	Joah	Ran	Reseph	Abihud				
Jobab	Ebiasaph	Iddo	Shamai	Telah	Gideon				
Husham	Assir	Zerah	Nadab	Tahan	Uzza				
Nadab			Appaim	Laadan	Asihud				
Samlah									

3189	Saul Baalhanan Hadar (Gen. 36. 8, 9)	Tahath Zophir Uriel Uzziah Joel Elkanah Amasai Mahath Elkanah Zuph Mahath Toah Elial Jeroham Elkanah Samuel Joel Heman	Ientrai Kohath Amram Aaron Eleazar Phineas Abishua Bukki Uzzi Zerahiah Joatham Meraiah Amariah	Isli Sheshua Ahlai Attai Nathan Zaba Ephial Obed Jehu Azariah Helez Eleasar Sisamai Shallum Jechaniah Elishama Jesse David	Ammihud Elishama Nun Joshua (1 Chron. 7. 27)	Gideon Aldon Zur Kish Baal Nadab Gedor Ahia Zacher Micloth Shimeah Aphiah Bechorath Zerar Abiel Kish Saul Jonathan
3729			Zadoc			

TABLE VIII.
HIGH PRIESTS OF THE JEWS.

An. Sac.	Number	
3270		Aaron.
—		┌──────────┴──────────┐
3317	1	Eleasar. Ithamar.
3333	2	Phineas I.
—	3	Abishua.
—	4	Bukki.
—	5	Uzzi.
—	6	Zerahiah.
—	VII.	Joatham.
—	8	Meraioth.
—	9	Amariah.
3679	10	
3719	11	Eli.
—	12	Phineas II.
—	13	Ahitub.
		Ahiab.
3803	XIV.	Zadoc. Abiathar.
—	15	Ahimaaz.
—	16	Azariah I.
—	17	Johannan.
—	18	Azariah II.
—	19	Amariah.
—	20	Ahitub II.
3952	XXI.	Jehoiada.
—	22	Zechariah.
—	23	Zadoc II.
—	24	Zechariah II.
—	25	Azariah III.
—	26	Urijah.
—	27	Azariah IV.
—	XXVIII.	Iddo. (Odeas). (10 Ant. 8. c)
—	29	Shullum.
—	30	Hilkiah.
—	31	Azariah V.
—	32	Seraiah.

TABLE VIII.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	Number	
—	33	Josedec.
—	34	Joshua.
—	XXXV.	Joiakim.
—	36	Eliashib.
—	37	Joiada.
—	38	Jonathan. 11 Ant. 7. 2.
—	39	Jaddua (brother of Manasseh. 11 Ant. 8. 4)
—	40	Onias I. 11 Ant. 8. 7.
—	41	(Simon (the Just).
—	42	(Eleasar.
—	43	Manasseh (uncle of Eleasar).
—	XLIV.	Onias II.
—	45	Simon II.
—	46	(Onias III.
—	47	Jason.
—	48	(Menelaus (Onias).
—	—	<i>End of First Line of forty-nine High Priests, 414 Years from Seraiah. (20 Ant. 10. 1.)</i>
4647	49	Alcimus. 4650.
4657	I.	Jonathan II.
4667	51	(Simon III. The Ethnarch.
4672	52	Johannan II. (Hyrcanus).
4706	53	Judah. (Aristobulus).
—	54	Jonathan III. (Alexander I.)
4741	55	(Hyrcanus II.)
4770	56	Mattathias. (Antigonus).
—	57	(Aristobulus III.).
4775	—	<i>End of Second Line, of (Eight) Hereditary High Priests.</i>
HIGH PRIESTS NOMINATED BY IDUMEAN KINGS OR BY ROMAN GOVERNORS.		
4775	1	Ananelus.
4786	2	Jesus ben Phabi.
4804	3	Simon ben Boethus.
4806	4	Matthias ben Theophilus.
4809	5	Joazar ben Boethus.
—	6	Eleasar ben Boethus.
4816	7	Jesus ben Sie.
4824	8	Annas ben Seth.
—	9	Ismael ben Phabi.
4833	10	Eleasar ben Annas.

TABLE VIII.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	Number	
4836	11	Simon ben Camithus
4845	12	Joseph Caiaphas.
4847	13	Jonathan ben Annas.
4856	14	Theophilus ben Annas.
—	3	Simon ben Boethus (again).
—	15	Matthias ben Annas.
—	16	Alioneus.
4857	17	Joseph ben Camithus.
4860	18	Ananias ben Nebedeus.
4864	19	Jonathan.
—	9	Ismael ben Phabi (again).
4871	20	Joseph Cabi.
—	21	Annas ben Annas.
—	22	Jesus ben Damilus.
4872	23	Jesus ben Gamaliel.
—	24	Matthias ben Theophilus.
4879	25	Phannias ben Samuel.
—	—	<i>End of the High Priests.</i>
		A substitute for the High Priest was appointed, probably on the Day of Atonement, in the year of the NATIVITY. (17 Ant. 6. 4.)

TABLE IX.

KINGS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Number	Kings	B.C.
—	1	1	Saul	—
3759	1	2	David	1051
3799	6	3	Solomon	1011
3839	4	4	Rehoboam	971
—	—	—	Jeroboam	—
3850	7	5	Abijah	954
3859	3	6	Asa	951
3860	4	—	Nadab	950
3861	5	—	Baasha	949
3885	1	—	Elah	925
3886	2	—	Zimri	924
—	—	—	Omri	—
3897	6	—	Ahab	913
3900	2	7	Jehoshaphat	910
3918	6	—	{ Ahaziah	892
3919	7	—	{ Jehoram	891
3925	6	8	Jehoram	885
3933	7	9	Ahaziah	877

TABLE IX.—*continued.*

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Number	Kings	B.C.
—	—	—	^o Jehu	—
3934	1	—	Athaliah	876
3940	7	10	Joash	870
3963	2	—	Jehoahaz	847
3978	3	—	Jehoash	832
3980	5	11	Amaziah	830
3994	5	—	Jeroboam II.	816
4009	6	12	Uzziah	807
4035	4	—	Ten years not counted	775
4046	1	—	Zachariah	764
4047	2	—	^o Shallum	763
—	—	—	^o Menahem	—
4058	6	—	Pekahiah	752
4060	1	—	^o Pekah	750
4061	2	13	Jotham	749
4077	4	14	Ahaz	733
4081	1	—	^o Hoshea	729
4089	2	—	Fall of Samaria	721
4093	6	15	Ezekiah	717
4122	1	16	Manasseh	688
4177	6	17	Amon	633
4179	1	18	Josiah	631
4210	4	19	Jehoahaz	600
4211	5	20	Jehoiachim	599
4222	2	21	Jeconiah	588
—	—	22	Zedekiah	—
4233	6	—	End of line of David, after 474 years	577
HASMONEAN LINE, OF SACERDOTAL ORIGIN.				
4705	2	1	Aristobulus	105
4706	3	2	Alexander Janneus	104
4732	1	—	Alexandra	78
4741	3	3	Aristobulus II.	69
4770	4	4	Antigonus	40
—	—	—	End of Hasmonean Line, after 65 years	—

TABLE IX.—*continued.*

IDUMEAN LINE. FOREIGN ORIGIN.

An. Sac.	Year of Week	Number	Kings	B.C.
4773	7	1	Herod the Great	37
4806	5	2	Herod II. (Archelaus)	4
4846	3	3	Herod III. Agrippa	37
4852	2	4	Agrippa II.	43
4904	5	—	<i>End of Idumean Line, after 131 years</i>	95
NOTE.—During 1675 years, from the Exodus to the Fall of Bether, thirty Kings and two Queens reigned for 670 years.				

CHAPTER III.

THE METROLOGY OF THE BIBLE.

THE entire system of measures used in the Bible was founded upon the average size of certain defined natural objects taken from either the animal or the vegetable kingdom. That such was, indeed, the general origin of units of measurement, is evident from the names still used in different languages, such as grain, foot, *pouce*, *palma*, *pes*, and the like. But the exactitude with which the Jew was bound to carry out the positive enactments of the Law was such as to render necessary for him a more precise determination of the quantities of water, of oil, of meal, and of other substances, as well as a more exact measurement of distance, than was usual among contemporary nations. The indications of the relations of these definite measurements are very widely scattered through the Bible and through different tracts of the Mishna; but by exhaustive researches it has proved to be possible to recover almost the whole system of Hebrew weights and measures.

The question may arise, in taking such units as the average length of a full grain of barley, the size of an ordinary hen's egg, or the length of the human fore-arm (which form three of the units of the Hebrew system of weights and measures), how far the average size of these objects may have differed, three or four thousand years ago, from any that can now be ascertained. This difficulty, however, is met by the consideration that the mutual relations of dimensions of weight, of length, and of capacity are so closely connected, that any change in the average length, for example, of a barleycorn, would be detected when the same object was used as a unit of weight, because while the

length increases simply, the corresponding weight increases as the cube of the length. Thus a correspondence, once fixed, can never be lost.

It must be remembered, indeed, that such accuracy as we are now accustomed to attach to the process of measurement is entirely of modern growth. The precision attained by the Jews, the Egyptians, or any other ancient people, was limited, in a considerable degree, by their methods of writing numbers, which were rude and simple. The value of place in arithmetic was unknown until comparatively modern times. Nor were the purposes for which extreme accuracy is now required known in the early times described in the Bible. Our chief need of extreme accuracy as to weight is for the purposes of chemical analysis, and of the preparations of prescriptions requiring minute portions of very powerful agents. The Jews had no such requirements, medical study being discouraged among them, and any remedies referred to in their literature being of the simplest kind. The next need for accuracy, practically speaking, is as to monetary weight. And even here the accuracy required was not more than to require that a coin, in order to be legal tender, should not have lost the sixth part of its full weight. Thus, in reconstructing the tables of Hebrew measures and weights we are able to arrive at a degree of precision very far superior to that with which we can suppose that the ordinary implements for measuring, in any manner, were made in ancient times. The Egyptian cubit, in eight different specimens, collected by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, varies by more than half an inch, no two of the eight being exactly commensurate.

Linear Measure.

The unit of linear measure among the Hebrews was the Ameh, or cubit. This was equal to the fourth part of the height of a man, or the length of the fore-arm, from the elbow to the end of the longest finger. The cubit was divided into six palms, and the palm into four finger breadths. The finger breadth, we learn from the tract Sephor Torah, was equal to the length of two barleycorns laid endways, or to the width of

seven barleycorns laid side by side. That this barleycorn is the equivalent of the unit of the English long measure is proved by the coincidence as to weight, which will hereafter be shown. It is also verified by the fact, that the measurements of the remains of the synagogues in Galilee, and of portions of the substructure of the Temple, have all been set out in cubits of sixteen inches (see p. 386), in accordance with the preceding determination. The size of average barleycorns in Syria at the present time has also been carefully measured with the same result. For different purposes, however, the same nominal dimension had sometimes different values, as is the case with our Troy and Avoirdupois pounds, our long and short hundred-weights, and our baker's dozens. Buxtorff, in his great *Lexicon*, under the head *Ameh*, cites the rabbinical statement that there were three cubits in the Temple, one of five palms, one of six, and one of ten. The royal cubit (translated cubit of a man), is mentioned in *Deuteronomy* (3. 11), and the cubit and hand-breadth occur in the Book of *Ezekiel* (40. 5) where the word *Tupah* is thus translated. The length of a cubit and a *tupah* is 18.66 inches; but there is no positive statement in the Bible or in the Talmud, other than those above cited, as to the length of the greater cubit. The meaning of the word *Gamad*, which is also translated cubit, is thought by Gesenius to be staff, or measuring wand. The smaller cubit, of five palms, is said to have been used for the finer sort of artificer's work, as the vessels of the Sanctuary. The chief legal importance of determining the length of the cubit was with reference to the *Tehum*, or distance for which it was allowed to go on the Sabbath beyond the limit of the domicile. (*Sotah* 5. 3.) In the absence of more definite measurement, this was defined by the *Halaca* at 2,000 ordinary steps, or a little over half an English mile. The provisions for making the booths for the Feast of Tabernacles, and those for avoiding the prohibited mixtures of growing plants, also required the determination of the cubit; and a careful measurement of distances was necessary in the event of the finding a corpse recently slain (*Deut.* 21. 1; cf. *Sotah* 9. 1-8), in order to ascertain which was the city

of which the elders were bound to sacrifice a heifer on the spot, for the removal of the stain of bloodshed. It is even laid down from what portion of the corpse the measurement was to be taken. So general was the obligation of exactitude in measures held to be, that an express statement is made in the Mishna that the things of which there is no measurement (Peah 1. 1) are, the corner of the field (to be left for the poor in the time of harvest, Levit. 23. 22); the first-fruits (Exod. 23. 19); the offering at the three great festivals (Exod. 23. 15); works of charity; and the study of the Law.

Measures of Area.

The importance of an accurate square or land measure among the Hebrews was enhanced, as before remarked as to the length of the cubit, by the minuteness of the provisions as to the law of Kilaim, or the prevention of the intermixture of seeds. In the law of real property, also, as set forth in the tract Baba Metzia, measurements of area are specified.

The unit of Hebrew land measure was the seah or *satum*, a space of 50 cubits long by 50 wide. This measurement is attached by the Rabbis to that of the Court of the Tabernacle (Exod. 27. 9, 12), which covered, as stated by Maimonides in his Commentary on the tract Kilaim, exactly two seaim of ground. The seah is thus equal to 2,500 square cubits, or $16\frac{1}{3}$ English poles nearly. Thirty sata or seaim went to the Kor, the largest dimension in the tables both of area and of capacity; and the satum itself is divided by 6, by 12, and by 24, as will be seen in the annexed Table. The kor is identical with the Homer, which must be distinguished from the Omer. The difficulty of faithfully transliterating the Hebrew words is illustrated by these two names, as to which there is no chance of confusion in the original. The omer, which is spelt with the letter Ain (a letter impossible to be pronounced by any but an Oriental scholar), contains only the hundredth part of the homer, or chomer.

The use of the same term for the corresponding steps in the tables of square and of cubic measure, when once understood,

has a remarkable simplicity, although when not rightly regarded it has led to error. Thus the verse (Levit. 27. 16), 'an homer of barley sold at fifty shekels of silver,' which in the LXX. reads, 'a kor of barley,' St. Jerome translates, 'land sown with thirty *modii* of barley.' Taking the *modius* as the translation of the seah, the meaning of the text is thus clearly given by the Vulgate. The price is quite inapplicable to such a quantity of seed corn; but it is appropriate for the annual return of a kor of land sown with a kor of barley. In the Book of Isaiah (5. 10) the homer of land is referred to as yielding only an epha of corn, being at the rate of about two gailons per acre, or one-tenth of the seed actually sown. The word Zemeed, a yoke, occurs in a sense corresponding to the Latin *jugum* (1 Sam. 14. 14; Isa. 5. 10), and is taken to occupy the same place in the table of area that is filled by the epha in that of cubic capacity. A corresponding word, the Feddan, or yoke, is used at the present day in Syria, but it contains from 28 to 40 acres, according to the richness of the soil.

References to the same system are found in the Book of Ezekiel. The measurement of the wall (which was afterwards called the Druphax) between the court of the Sanctuary and the Chel, is there stated at 500 cubits in length and 500 in width. The tract Middoth states that these dimensions were followed by the rebuilders of the Temple. The space enclosed is 100 seaim, or fifty times the size of the court of the Tabernacle. Again, the Trumah, or holy portion of the land, which was directed, in the 45th chapter of the same book, to be set apart around the 100 seaim of the Sanctuary, was to be 25,000 cubits square, divided into three portions (Ezek. 45. 1, 3, 6). It was thus 250 times the size of the Sanctuary, containing 83,333 kori of land, or about 275,000 English acres, allotted to the priests (v. 4), the Levites (v. 5), and the city (v. 6). This is equal to about one-fifteenth part of the area of Palestine, west of the Jordan and the Dead Sea.

Measures of Capacity.

The Hebrew unit of measures of capacity (Peah 1. 6) was the Log; a measure equal to the contents of six ordinary eggs of the domestic hen. Maimonides, in his comment on the tract Peah (cap. 8. m. 5) expresses the equivalent of this measure as four digits, by four digits, by two and seven-tenths digits. But he defines the digit here used as being the width of the thumb of the hand; and it is not thus possible to discover the exact cubic capacity intended. The Jewish digit of two barleycorns gives too small, and the English inch (or *pouce*) of three barleycorns, gives too large, a result. We are thus led, first to estimate the contents of an ordinary hen's egg, and then to verify the result by references to the weights attributed by the Jewish doctors to definite quantities of known substances.

The average result of a large series of measurements of the eggs of the ordinary hen gives four cubic inches of contents. It is very rare to find an egg exceed this capacity by as much as five per cent. The log, holding the contents of six eggs, will contain on this reckoning 24 cubic inches. Rabbi David, the sixth from Maimonides, states that the weight of an Anphak, or quarter of a log, of water, was 25 drachmæ. This is equal to the weight of 6,000 grains for a log. Twenty-four cubic inches of distilled water, at the temperature of 62° Fahrenheit, weigh 6,060 grains, which is within one per cent. of the determination of Rabbi David. This is far within the range of accuracy with which a measure of capacity could have been constructed by the Jews.

There is, therefore, not only an extreme convenience in the adoption of this exact unit for the measure of capacity used in the Bible, but there is, further, a confirmation afforded by the above calculation of the identity of the units of the Hebrew tables with the English long measure barleycorn, and with the Troy grain. It will be seen that the Bath, an important liquid measure, is identical with the English cubic foot.

The close correspondence that exists between the Jewish Hin and the English gallon, and the Jewish Seah and the

English peck, cannot fail to strike the observer. The contents of our measures of capacity, as now fixed by Act of Parliament, have not been scientifically referred to the unit of linear measure. Had that been done, the correspondence of the above-named measures would no doubt have been exact. It is in the highest degree improbable that such coincidences should not denote a common source. The difference between our own measures and the ancient French measures show that it was not from Gaul that our own were derived. Nor do our measures agree with those of Italy or of Germany. The influence of the Phœnicians may be traced in Spain and in Italy, in the weight of the ducat, or silver unit of commerce. Over the whole of Europe a Phœnician or Assyrian weight is still used by the jeweller, namely, the carat, by which precious stones are weighed. There need thus be no surprise excited by the identification of the English and the Aramaic units of length and weight.

The measures of capacity referred to in the Bible will be found in the accompanying Table. To the measures thus tabulated may be added the following, which are found in the Talmud :—

The Koriob equals one sixty-fourth of a log.			
The Toman	„	one half	„
The Tarcab	„	one half of a seah.	
The Letek	„	five baths;	{ it is also defined as an ass's load.
The Chitzbah	„	nine cabs.	

The capacity of the vessel used for drawing water in the service of the Temple, at the Feast of Tabernacles, was 3 logs.

The contents of the Tabaliah or bath, required for the purpose of purification by total immersion, was 40 seaim, or 81·54 gallons.

The quantity of water requisite for the purification of the hands, before meat, or before and after touching the roll of the Law (as to which the earliest authority cited in the Mishna is that of Rabbi Jose, A.D. 120 to 140), was an anphak or quarter of a log.

Greek measures named in the Bible, and not coincident with Hebrew measures, are :—

The Metretes (John 2. 6), which held 10·32 gallons.

The Chœnix (Rev. 6. 6), „ 1·454 pint.

'The epha is frequently spoken of as 'the three measures.' In Genesis 18. 6, three seaim is the term in the Hebrew ; and in both accounts of the parable of the leaven (Matt. 13. 33 ; Luke 13. 21), three *sata* is found in the Greek. The prohibition in Deuteronomy (25. 14) is against keeping a large and a small epha. The measures of the consumption of the household of Solomon (1 Kings 4. 22, and 5. 11) were kori of corn and baths of oil. The size of the trench dug round the altar of Elijah (1 Kings 18. 32) was denoted by seaim. The measures named in the parable of the unjust steward (Luke 16. 6) are baths and kori. The word *modios* is used by each of the three Evangelists, in the proverbial expression as to not hiding the light. The word is no doubt used as the best Greek equivalent of seah, and peck is a more correct translation than bushel. The Latin modius held about one-tenth more than the seah.

Measures of Weight.

The unit of weight used by the Jews was identical with that of the Phœnicians, which was also that of the Assyrians, forming part of a system entirely different from that of the Egyptians. As silver became employed as the measure of value, a weight, a shekel of silver, called in Aramaic a tekell, was adopted as a convenient unit ; and thus in course of time, each weight being distinguished by a stamp, was laid the basis of the coinage.

Under the Jewish kings, we learn from Maimonides¹ the Shekel, weight, or unit of silver money, weighed 320 grains of barley, which we shall see to be equivalent to grains troy. The shekel was divided and subdivided by 2, by 3, and by 5, and was multiplied, or carried to account, in the

¹ *Constitutiones de Siclis*, 1. 2.

Maneh, mina, or pound; which for different purposes, was differently reckoned (Ezek. 45. 12) and in the Ciccar, which has been translated talent, which weighed 3,000 shekels, or 166·6 pounds troy.

The determination of the weight of the shekel given by Maimonides is verified in a very satisfactory manner by the existence of the weights from Nineveh, which are now in the British Museum. Some of these are in the form of a lion; others in that of a duck. Some bear Phœnician, or Aramean, others cuneiform inscriptions. As in the case of the dimensions given in the Talmud, there are two systems of these weights, one containing exactly the double of the other; so that in using the word 'maneh' it would be requisite to add whether it was a maneh of shekels, or of half-shekels, that was intended. In both systems 60 manehs go to the ciccar, and 50 shekels, or 50 bekas, to the maneh. The lion weight which is in the best preservation, is marked '30 manehs,' and now actually weighs 233,300 troy grains,² which is within 3 per cent. of the full weight of 1,500 bekas, or 240,000 troy grains. Considering the great antiquity of the weights, the coincidence is remarkably accurate.

It would probably be more correct to speak of the maneh as containing, in each of the above cases, 100 bekas, or half-shekels, or 100 zuzas, or quarter-shekels, than 50 whole, or 50 half units. In his Commentary on the tract Keritoth, which enumerates, in its first Mishna, the 36 capital crimes punished with death by the Jewish law, Maimonides describes minutely the confection of the holy incense; the unlawful mixing of which forms the 33rd of these crimes. In this account he distinctly specifies the mina employed as containing 100 dinars; each dinar weighing 6 drachmæ; and each drachma, 16 grains of barley. The mina thus determined weighs 9,600 grains troy, or the hundredth part of the larger ciccar, and a decimal arrangement is thus given which adds much elegance to the entire Chaldean system.

After the return from Babylon, Maimonides (Shekalim 5. 6

¹ Madden's *Jewish Coinage*, p. 266.

and 11. 4) states that the selah, or selang, which contained 384 grains, was substituted for the original shekel, of 320 grains, being an addition of one fifth to the weight. The object of this change may be conjectured to be the necessity of adapting the value of the Jewish coins to that of the money of the Persian kings, which had legal currency throughout their dominions. Although the old terms were at times applied to this heavier currency, others special to its designation occur in the Talmud. Thus the half of a selah shekel is called the Tebha; ¹ and the 20th part of the selah is called not the Gera but the Asper, a word of Greek origin, the exact value of which Maimonides says had escaped him, but which is supplied by Bartenora.² The words Assarion and Pondion are transliterations of the Latin As and Pondus into Aramaic. The Rigia, or Stater, is the Aramaic word for the Hebrew Poles, and is the equivalent of the tridrachm, or three-quarters of the shekel.³ The Garmes, another Aramaic word, is mentioned by the same writers as equal to the twelfth part of the shekel. The Maa, or Meah, is another Aramaic word for the 20th part of the shekel. It is translated *obolus*, and given by Rabbi Solomon as the equivalent of the Hebrew gera, or agora. As the terms which denote weight also denote value, it is impossible altogether to separate the two subjects of enquiry. But it is evident that in the Hebrew system we have none other than that which was common to Assyria as well as to Phœnicia, and that the means existed of both a decimal computation of larger quantities, and a duodecimal division coming down to extremely minute fractions. The relation between the number of grains in the shekel and the number of troy grains in a carat form a part of this very minute, but perfectly intelligible, system of weights.

Measures of Value.

The introduction, or at all events the first general use, of what we understand by the expression coined money appears

¹ *Maimonides in Siclis*, 2. 1.

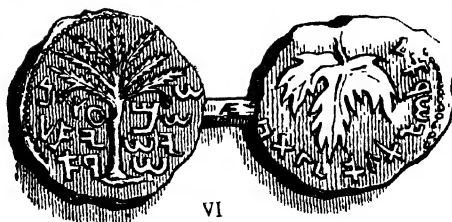
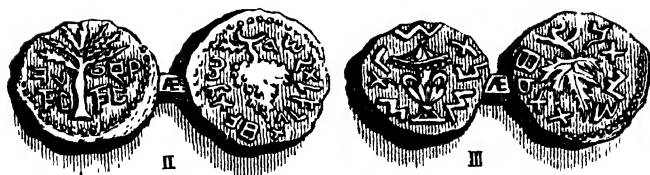
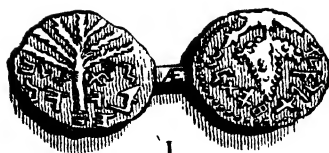
² *Maaser Shenì* 2. 9.

³ *Burtonff*, sub voce.

to have occurred during the period of time covered by the Pentateuch. In a tomb at Thebes, which is referred to the time of Thothmes III., a little before the Exodus, is a representation of the weighing of rings of gold or silver against weights in the form of animals, resembling the Assyrian weights in the British Museum. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, in his work on 'The Ancient Egyptians,' states that this same form of ring money is used to the present day in Senaar. That coined money was known to the Jews at the time of the institution of the Law is inferred by the Mishnic doctors from the precept (Deut. 14. 25) to carry the value of the second tithe to Jerusalem; as the use of uncoined money for the purpose is forbidden by the oral law (Maaser Sheni 1. 4). The money which is here mentioned as unfit is the *Pulsa* (Sabbath fo. 65 a), which was in the form of what we should now call 'blanks,' pieces in the shape and size of coin, but with no impress. The *Asemon* was a yet ruder form, consisting of mere pieces of bullion. It was also forbidden to pay the Temple tax of the half-shekel otherwise than in the appropriate coins of pure silver; and the tables of the receivers of this tax were set annually on the 15th day of Adar in the provinces, and on the 25th day of Adar in the court of the Temple, to provide the legal coin for the prescribed payment on the 1st of Nisan. Those who were unprovided with the half-shekel or half-stater had to pay a *kalbon*, or *agio*, to the money changers, of about the weight in silver of our present silver penny.

The most ancient name for a piece, or a sum, of money that occurs in the Bible (Job 42. 2; Gen. 33. 19; Josh. 24. 32) is the *Kesita*. The meaning of this word had been lost by the time of the Evangelists. From its resemblance to a word meaning 'lamb,' the *kesita* has been supposed to have some connection with the ancient weights in the form of animals (as *pecunia* has been connected with *pecus*). Rabbi Akiba says (Bab. Talmud Rosh Hashanah 26a) that he had heard the name applied to a piece of money in Africa. Another obsolete word, *agora*, which occurs in the 2nd Book of Samuel (2. 36) is thought by Gesenius to be an old form of the word *gera*.

PLATE I.



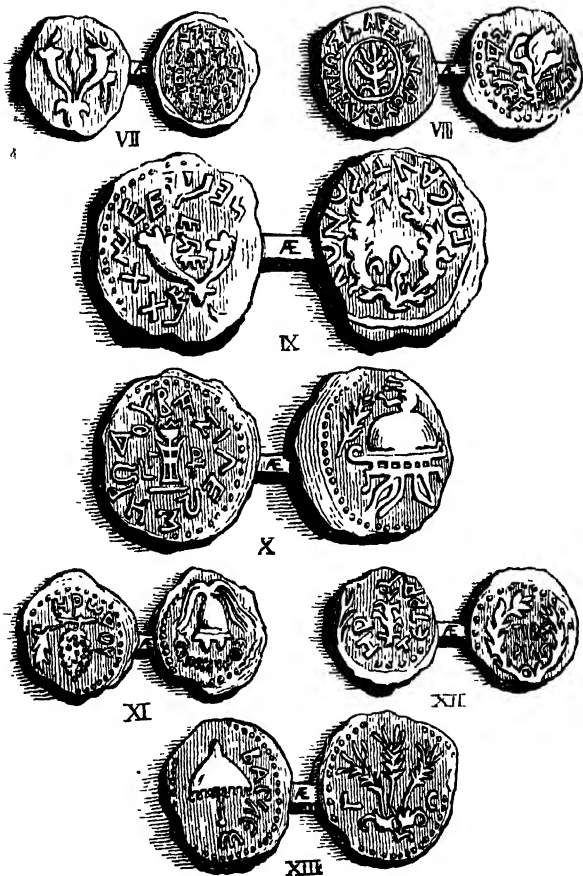
No example of any Jewish money of date earlier than the Captivity is known to exist. Coins purporting to be of an earlier date occur; but the use of square Hebrew letters on the field proves that they are forgeries. A certain variation may be traced historically in the shapes of the Aramaic letters which are found on the real Hebrew coins, especially in the Aleph and in the Yod. The existence of horns in the letter Cheth is to be remarked in the earliest types of this writing, as for example on the Diban Stone, on the Assyrian lion weights, and on the inscription of Esmunazar, king of Sidon. The form of the Shin varies from that of a W to that of the small Greek omega, the latter appearing in some of the earliest and in some of the latest examples. The termination of the straight limbs of the letters by a dot is a fashion that prevailed in some cases. This mode of finish may be also observed on certain Greek coins, especially on the tetradrachms of Ptolemy V. and VI., and may thus be regarded as a mark of date. It is not found on either the earliest or the latest dated Hebrew coins.

The earliest known Hebrew coin is one which we have figured (Plate I. fig. 1). It is a copper coin, now in the *Cabinet du Roi* at Paris, bearing on the obverse the sacred seven-branched palm tree, around which are scattered the letters which form the words 'Eliashib the Priest.' They are irregularly disposed, but not more so than is the case with the letters on some other coins. The form of the letters is archaic; differing considerably from the latest dated type of Aramaic, as found on the coins of Antigonus. A closely similar coin bears the legend 'Eleasar the Priest,' also disposed on the field on either side of the palm tree, but written from left to right. The reverses of these two coins are almost identical. Each bears a bunch of grapes, and the words 'Shanath Achath Ligulath,' 'year one—for redemption.' The coin of Eleasar also has the word 'Isral.' Silver coins of Eleasar the priest also exist in which the name is written from right to left round a legah, *lecythus*, or *ænochoe*. One of these has the same reverse as the copper coin. The other bears the word 'shemo' (money), within a wreath. The only High priest who exercised supreme

power and who bore the name of Eleasar, after the son of Aaron, was the brother and successor of Simon the Just. The attempt to attribute these coins to either of the two Herodian High priests, Eleasar the son of Boethus, or Eleasar the son of Annas, each of whom held the office of pontiff for only a few months (the first being appointed and deposed by Archelaus, 17 Ant. 13. 1, and the second by Valerius Gratus), or to the robber Eleasar, who was not a High priest at all, do not call for serious consideration. Coins of the dates in question exist. The types are Greek. Those of Archelaus are not dated, but there is a coin of Valerius Gratus the procurator, dated on the very year of the pontificate of Eleasar the son of Annas, which, moreover, did not fall on the first year of a week. Another coin of the same type as the copper coins of Eliashib and Eleasar bears letters which are barely legible; but of which a Cheth, a Lamed, and a Yod can be found in the name of no sovereign or High priest, except those of Hilkiah and of Alcimus. A second Cheth, and a Gimel, also occur—possibly indicating the words ‘gadol’ (great), and ‘kheber’ (chief), or master, which also occur on other coins. But the Hebrew equivalent of the name of Alcimus is unknown, and this coin must await further elucidation.

In the 170th year of the Seleucidæ (An. Sac. 4667) according to the 1st Book of Maccabees (13. 41) the yoke of the Gentiles was removed from Israel. This, however, was after a submission of only twenty-seven years, Antiochus Epiphanes having taken Jerusalem, without fighting, An. Sac. 4640. In the above year Simon assumed the title of High priest, General, and Chief. About four years later, Antiochus, the son of Demetrius, wrote to Simon as ‘High Priest and Ethnarch,’ and acknowledged his right to issue money with his own *komma*, or stamp, in his country. The word ‘ethnarch’ is probably most faithfully translated into Hebrew by the word *Nasi*, which is common to the Hebrew and the Aramaic dialects, and may be rendered prince. In exact accordance with this statement, we find coins bearing the legend ‘Simon Nasi Isral’—Simon, Prince (of) Israel. The title of *Nasi*, in later years, was applied

PLATE II.



to the President of the Sanhedrin, an office which Simon held together with the pontificate, and which is probably intended by the *Hegoumenos* of the text cited. This word is the equivalent of Kheber, or chief, which we find on some of the Hasmonean coins, such as those of Judah, Jonathan, and Mattathias, each of whom is styled 'High Priest and Chief of the Jews.' It will be observed that these sovereigns continued the use of the title borne by Simon before he was addressed by Antiochus as Ethnarch.

Coins bearing the name of Simon (independently of those which bear the word Shemo, or money) are so numerous in proportion to the whole extant coinage, that there seems to be no reason for attributing to Simon III. any that do not bear his assumed titles. One specimen (Fig. 14) so closely resembles the coins of Eliashib in the irregular distribution of the letters on the field, that it may probably be with propriety assigned to Simon the Just. Another type bears the vessel called legah, or lecythus, found on some of the coins of Eleasar; and thus may naturally be attributed to Simon II., the brother of the last-named famous pontiff.

From the time of Simon III. there is a regular sequence of Jewish coins (with the omission only of those of Hyrcanus I. and of Aristobulus II.), down to the death of Agrippa II. Johannan II. or Hyrcanus, and Jehuda, otherwise called Aristobulus I., are only known to have struck Aramaic coins. The next sovereign introduced the bilingual coinage. His coins bear the names 'Jehonathan the High Priest' in Aramaic, and 'Alexander Basileus,' in Greek, letters. The coins of Queen Alexandra, of Alexander II., and of Antigonos, are also bilingual.

Greek letters alone were used by Herod the Great, and the six other princes of his house whose coins are known. With Agrippa II. a pagan type became prevalent; and a portrait on one coin is thought to be that of Agrippa himself; although the 'eikon' of the reigning Roman emperor is usually found on this money.

A number of specimens of Jewish money exist, which show

ancient Aramaic types, struck on Roman Denarii or other coins, as late as the time of Trajan. Some obscurity attaches to these coins, which are generally thought to have been re-issued during one or other of the great revolts of the Jews. It is, however, very remarkable that none of the bilingual or Greek coins appear to have been reproduced in this way; so that if these were really struck on behalf of the national defence, the object of those who coined them must have been to lead the enthusiasm of their followers to dwell on the triumphs of the reign of Simon the Ethnarch, or on the earlier memories of Jewish independence.

A peculiar type of Jewish coin, which bears no name of High priest or sovereign, was struck probably for the payment of the annual poll-tax, which was exacted under pain of excision, or cutting off from the nation. The provisions of the Law are detailed with great minuteness in the tract *Shekalim* of the *Mishna*. Each Israelite was bound to offer a silver half-shekel; and if two men proposed to offer a single shekel between them, a small additional charge was imposed on them by the official money changers, who were appointed in order to furnish the proper coins to those who required them. The terms of the Law are precise (*Exod.* 30. 13), demanding half a shekel of the 'shekel hakodesh,' or sacred money. Of this money, which is marked on one side 'Shekel Isral,' or 'Half Shekel;' and on the other, 'Jerusalem Hakodesha,' or 'Kodesha,' numerous examples have been found. (See Plates I.–IV.) They bear on the obverse a *cos* or goblet, and on the reverse a triple flower. They also bear a number (either 1, 2, 3, or 4), sometimes following the letter Shin, which stands for *Shanah*, year. By these numbers it was possible to identify the year in which the half-shekel was paid. The first four years of the week followed in natural order. The fifth year, in which the observances corresponded with those of the first, might again be denoted by the Shin Aleph, without any fear of mistake; the sixth year by Shin Gimel, and the seventh year, by Shin Daleth; the observances of the third and sixth years and those of the fourth and seventh, being similar. A means was

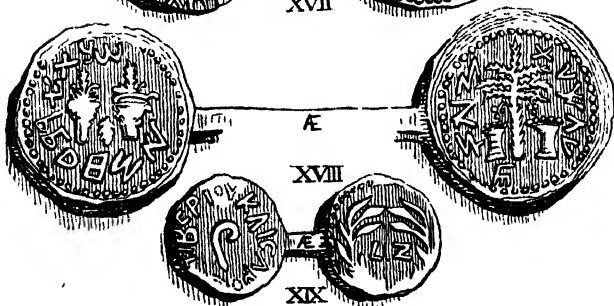
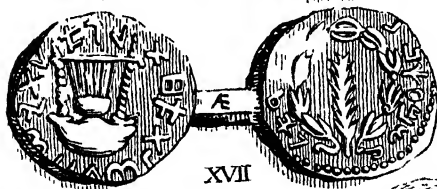
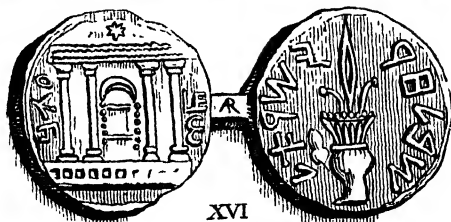
thus provided for taking an annual census of the people by the enumeration of the half-shekels for the year, when collected in the Temple. Into the first of the thirteen money chests in the Temple (Shekalim 5. 5) were put the new shekels of the current year. The second chest contained the old shekels, or those which remained from a former year. The convenience of showing by the shekels themselves to which year they belonged is obvious, and must have been almost indispensable in order to prevent any error on the part of the collector, who had to separate the 'first oblation' from the total mass of money in the treasury.

The number of distinct types of Jewish coin on which no name occurs, at the time of the publication of Mr. Madden's 'Jewish Coinage,' without counting those described as illegible, was thirteen, to which the half-shekel of the year 4 has since been added. Of the 'Holy Jerusalem,' or 'Shekel Isral,' money, while the types are permanent, the individual dies have been as numerous as the specimens of the coins themselves, no two of the coins being identical, although they as closely resemble one another as copies made by hand are found to do. Five types of copper money, figured on pages 47 and 180 of 'Jewish Coinage; and on plates 4 and 10 of 'Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque,' bear the word Zion instead of Jerusalem, three being Galluth and two Kheruth money, hereafter described. (See Figs. 3 -18.) On three of these the Shin takes the form of the W, and in three, if not in four, may be observed that termination of the straight limbs of certain letters by a dot, which is so marked a feature on some of the Greek coins. These peculiarities may possibly intimate that the coins in question were struck for religious use during the thirty-one years for which the Greeks were in possession of the citadel of Akra, or Millo, on the northernmost hill, surrounded by the wall of Jerusalem. It is, however, tolerably clear from the restoration of the Temple services on the 25th Chisleu, An. Sac. 4645, that during great part, if not the whole, of the term for which the Greeks occupied Akra, the Jews held the southern hill; which Josephus calls the upper market-place, and which was the original citadel

of the Judaic kings. And that, while Jerusalem was partly under the yoke of the Gentiles, the sacred coinage may have been struck with the name of Zion, as still unprofaned, is quite in harmony with the Jewish character. No other explanation of this variation of legend has as yet been suggested.

An extraordinary amount of light is thrown on the course of the Sacred history by a careful study of the Jewish coinage. The exact expressions of the Bible, the Talmud, and the books of Josephus, are echoed by their mute but faithful witness. As far back as any specimens of coined money can be traced, it was the function of the sovereign power, whether that of the king or that of the state (as in the Greek cities and republics), to affix its signature to the coin, whether by name, by symbol, or by portrait. The latter mode of authenticating money was forbidden by the Jewish law; and it is not until the establishment of the Roman power in Palestine that an 'image' was added to the 'superscription' of any coin current among the Jews. The Jerusalem Gemara to the tract Sanhedrin (2. 3) speaks of the money (monetha) of Saul. The same authority, in commenting on the treatise Baba Kama, says that the coins of Jerusalem had David and Solomon on one side, and Jerusalem, the Holy City, on the other. Bereshith Rabba (cap. 39) translates the words Shemo (Esther 9. 4), Shem (1 Chron. 14. 17), Shemo (Josh. 6. 27), and Shemak (Gen. 12. 2), by the word 'coin'; and whatever authority is due to the explanation, it at least proves that this use of the word was familiar to Hebrew scholars. The 'shekel hakodesh' (translated shekel of the Sanctuary) is mentioned in Exodus (30. 13), in Numbers (3. 47), and in several other passages in the Pentateuch. The exact expression occurs on those silver coins which bear no name of High priest or king, but sacred symbols, with on the one side the words Shekel Isral or weight of Israel, and on the other Jerusalem Kodeshah, or Ha Kodeshah, Jerusalem Holy, or the Holy. Again, in Leviticus (25. 24), it is prescribed that a redemption for the land should be granted in the 49-50th year. The word there used is Gul ah, in pointed Hebrew: G A L H without the points. The appearance money,

PLATE III.

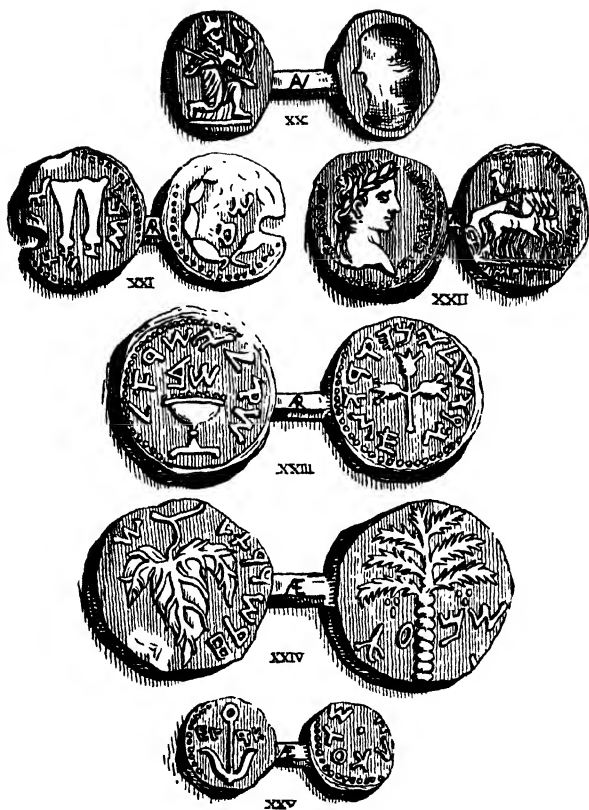


or 'oblation of vision' (Exod. 23. 15), is said in the tract Peah of the Mishna not to be legally defined as to its amount in the Pentateuch, though a minimum sum was fixed by the Sanhedrin; and the distinction between the selaim or silver money of the Maaser Sheni or second tithes, and the smaller copper money current at Jerusalem is mentioned in the tract Maaser Sheni (2. 9; 4. 11). That distinct types of coin, distinguishing the secular currency, or mercantile silver, from the money used for the sacred offerings and contributions, are intended by these expressions, is rendered probable by the recurrence of corresponding words on the coins. On a certain group occurs the word LGALT, read as Ligullath; and this is generally found in connection with a number. On other coins occur the word Kheruth, or I'Kheruth,—a word which, in the treatises Succah, Sabbath, and Pesachim of the Talmud is rendered 'palm branches.' The nearest root has the meaning of 'to cut,' or 'to engrave,' in which sense it is applied to the Tables of the Law. Some of these Kheruth coins bear on the reverse the word Shemo, not a partial impress of the word Simon, but fairly occupying the field. Besides these inscriptions, pointing to a ceremonial use, the coins in question bear sacred emblems. The palm tree (Canticles 7. 8) and the vine (Ps. 80. 8) were associated, in the language of the Sacred writers, with the nation of the Jews. The seven-branched palm, the vine leaf, and the cluster of grapes are among the most frequently repeated emblems on the Jewish coins. Again, the services of the Temple are illustrated or commemorated by the coins. The lulab, or bundle of palm, myrtle, and willow (Levit. 23. 40), and the ethrog, or citron, which, according to the Targums, was meant by the word translated 'boughs' in the English version of the above passage, were borne at the Feast of Tabernacles by every Israelite on each day but the Sabbath. We find them on the coins. (See Plate III.) Three ears of barley were required for the celebration of the Passover, as referred to in the chapter on the Jewish year. We find them on the coins of Agrippa. Palm branches were borne on the 1st of Nisan. A single palm frond is a not unfrequent symbol. It is even found on the coins

of the Procurator Claudius Felix. The *Sal*, or woven basket, in which the seven species of first-fruits described in the treatise Bicurim of the Talmud, were brought up to the Temple to the sound of pipes (Bicurim 3. 3-4), one of which baskets King Agrippa bore on his shoulder into the court in fulfilment of the ritual, is represented, under the seven-branched palm, on the same coin.

Of the vessels and instruments used in the Sanctuary the coins present not a few representations. The *Cos*, or goblet, which is usually found on the Holy Jerusalem money, is one of these, being either a sacrificial bowl, or (as these properly had no rests or stands), more probably, the golden cup, which was carried daily into the Temple for the cleansing of the golden lamp. The ancient vase with a very large cover (Fig. 3) can hardly be mistaken as meant for the *Kupha*; a golden covered vessel, in which, itself covered with a napkin, the incense for the morning and evening oblation was borne daily to the altar. The *Legah*, or *lecythus*, found on the coins of Simon and of Eleasar, would be an appropriate representation of the golden legah in which water was brought from the Fountain of Siloam for the ceremony of water pouring in the Temple at the Feast of Tabernacles. The two silver trumpets, which performed so important a part of the Temple ritual, occur on other coins. A tripod, sustaining a thurible, on a coin of Herod, may be taken as a rude figuration of the golden altar of incense; and the remarkable object on the obverse of the same coin has been supposed to represent the *Tzel-tzel*, an instrument of percussion (translated Cymbals in our version) which was in daily use in the Temple service. A conventionalized representation of the seven-branched candlestick may possibly be meant by a symbol which has sometimes been called an anchor; and it is difficult to suppose that the tetrastyle temple, with its lofty doorway that is portrayed on a coin (Fig. 16) having the *lulab* and *ethrog* on the reverse, can be intended for any other than the Holy House. Of the *kinnurs*, or *citharæ*, of which any number might be used in the choral service of the Temple,

PLATE IV.



there are figures on the coins with three, with five, and with six strings.

When it is observed how permanent has been the weight of the ancient unit of Phœnician commerce, the Shekel, it will become apparent that the type of the 'Jerusalem money' may well be of extreme antiquity. Down to 1860 the ducat, though rare as a coin, was the unit of account of the currency of Naples. The silver coin chiefly used in practice was the piastre, which contained 120 of those *grani* of which the ducat contained 100. The Spanish ducat and piastre were of like value. As six Neapolitan ducats are the par value of the English sovereign, we have here the exact equivalents of the shekel, containing 320 troy grains, or 120 diamond carats, and of the selah, containing 384 troy grains. The introduction of the latter unit into Palestine, after the return from Babylon, was no doubt adopted in order to bring the silver coinage into due relation with the golden daric, darkon, or dram, repeatedly mentioned in the Book of Nehemiah. The Eginetan drachm of 100 troy grains of silver has gradually been reduced in weight, during a period of 2,600 years, by the recoinages effected by successive sovereigns, to the English silver penny of less than eight grains, and to the denier, or twelfth part of a sous or solidus, in France and Italy. During the whole of this time the commercial unit of the ducat has preserved its true mercantile value; and the Neapolitan peasant now exchanges the francs, originally introduced by the revolutionary government of France, for the true equivalent in weight of the shekel of the Sanctuary, the age of which appears only the more venerable, the more successful is our research into the records of Assyria and Babylonia.

We figure a group of the coins specifically named in the Bible. We are indebted to Canon Tristram for the means of engraving the silver coin, bearing the legend 'Shin Beth Isral,' around the two trumpets on the obverse, and the word 'Shemo' within a wreath, on the reverse, which is the best specimen known of the silver quarter-shekel. The coin itself weighs 64 grains; but it is not only much rubbed, but has further lost a portion of its weight from being pierced, and worn as an amulet

or ornament. The full weight of the denomination would be 80 troy grains. We have thus a very close representation of the fourth part of a shekel of silver (1 Samuel 9. 8) which the servant of Saul offered to the man of God 'to tell us our way.'

Although not a Jewish coin, the daric, or darkon of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, also mentioned in the Talmud, is represented (Fig. 20) as being specifically mentioned among the offerings made for the service of the Temple; and also as bearing a distinct and important relation to the silver coinage of the Jews after the return from the Captivity, as is fully detailed in the Talmud and in the Commentary of Maimonides. It was a change of precisely the same kind as the substitution of the piastre for the ducat. It led, as may be seen by consulting the great Talmudic Lexicon of Buxtorff under the head *Rigia*, to disputes as to the proper unit of the Temple tax; the priests calling for the half-selah, the people sinking as low in their estimate of duty as the quarter-selah, or denarius. At a period not stated, a compromise was effected by the legalisation of the tridrachm, or stater, as the Temple shekel, and of the half-stater as the legal tribute. All the silver coins of the 'Holy Jerusalem' money as yet discovered are, according to their weight, either staters or half-staters.

We are here enabled, with unusual preciseness, to represent the stater mentioned in the Gospel (Matt. 17. 27) as provided for the payment of the didrachm, or Temple tax. The year in question was the second year of the week, and we figure the Holy Jerusalem stater for the year 2, which is thus far appropriate. The collectors of the tribute, however, demanded separate coins for each individual, and the payment of one stater, instead of two half-staters, made necessary the addition of a kalbon or collybus—a small piece of money of which the value was fixed at (Shekalim 1. 7) half a silver meah, or 8 grains of silver, a coin of which no example is extant. The large brass coin which is the only representative known to exist of the gera was the equivalent in copper money.

The thirty pieces of silver paid to Judas Iscariot were no

doubt Temple staters. The drachma, mentioned in the parable of the lost piece of silver, is the Greek term for the denarius.

Although called, in the English translation, by the same name of tribute, the money demanded for the census must be carefully distinguished from the didrachm, half-stater, or Temple tax. The Roman census was established, we are informed by Josephus (18 Ant. 1. 1), by the senator Cyrenius, after the banishment of Archelaus, when Judæa was reduced from a kingdom to a province, Cyrenius being at the same time sent as the first procurator of Judæa. The amount payable per head appears, from the Gospel of St. Mark (12. 15), to have been a denarius. We figure the silver denarius of Tiberius, bearing the image and superscription of that emperor, for the 17th year of his tribunate, from a specimen in the British Museum. The coins mentioned in the Parables of the labourers in the vineyard, and of the good Samaritan, are denarii. (Matt. 20. 2.)

We add representations of two pieces of money, which, though low in commercial value, may be said to be in fame the very master-pieces of the mintage of History. This is not the place in which to remark on the emotions of gratitude and of trust which have been awakened for the last eighteen centuries, in so many bosoms, by the thought of the two sparrows sold for one farthing, and yet not forgotten before God, or of the two mites of the widow. The word translated 'farthing' in the first passage was the assarion or quarter-asper, a common Jewish coin, of which the one figured (Plate IV.), bearing the palm tree and the vine leaf, and the name of one of the High priests, called Simon, now weighs 125 grains troy; the original full weight of the coin being about 156 grains. The word 'farthing' is also used, in the English New Testament, as a translation of the Greek word *kodrans*. This, however, as occurring in the same Gospel which mentions the assarion (Matt. 10. 29, cf. 5. 26) cannot be taken to mean the same coin. It is, there can be little doubt, the Kontrinek, or kerdentes, of the Talmudic writers, which was the fourth part of the Issar or assarion, and the sixteenth part of the asper. The half of this coin was the Prutha, a weight equal to half a troy grain of silver, and to

about 20 grains of copper. That this smallest Jewish coin was the lepton, *minutus*, or mite of the parable is rendered more probable by the existence of a very tiny coin (Fig. 25), which bears on the reverse the Greek word *chalkous*, which is almost exactly that used in the Gospel (Mark 12. 41) to describe the money thrown into the collecting chest in the court of the Temple. Thus we can figure with considerable confidence the coins named in the Gospels, from the stater or holy shekel to the widow's mite.

TABLE X.
HEBREW LINEAR MEASURE (*MIDDOTH*).

<i>SMALLER MEASURE OF LENGTH.</i>						
	Corns	Digits	Palms	Cubits	Equivalents. English	
					Inches	Feet
Barleycorn	1	—	—	—	0·33	
Digit (Atzbah)	2	1	—	—	0·66	
Palm (Tupah)	8	4	1	0·166	2·66	
Hand-breadth (Zereth)	16	8	2	0·333	5·33	
Span (Sit)	24	12	3	0·50	8·00	
Foot (Rebol)	32	16	4	0·75	10·66	
Cubit (Ameh)	48	24	6	1	16·0	1·33

TABLE XI.

LARGER MEASURES OF LENGTH.							
	Cubits	Canes	Fur- longs	Mils	Tehums	Equivalents	
						Yards	Miles
Cubit (Ameh)	1	—	—	—	—	0·444	
Cane (Keneh)	4	1	—	—	—	1·777	
Furlong (Resah)	125	31·25	1	—	—	55·5	
Small mile (Mil.)	1,000	250	8	1	—	444	0·252
Sabbath-day's jour- ney (Tehum)	2,000	500	16	2	1	888	0·504
Stage (Parse)	4,000	1,000	32	4	2	1,777	1·009
Horse course	3,750	—	—	—	—	1,675	0·905
Day's journey	18,750	—	—	—	—	8,325	4·73

TABLE XII.
HEBREW SQUARE MEASURE.

	Rebah	Cab	Seah	Zemeel	Kor	Equivalents		
						Cubits	Yards	Acres
Rebah .	1	—	—	—	—	104·15	20·55	
Cab .	4	1	—	—	—	416·6	82·22	
Seah .	24	6	1	—	—	2,500	493·33	
Zemeel .	72	18	3	1	—	7,500	1,480	0·33
Kor .	720	180	30	10	1	75,000	14,800	3·30

TABLE XIII.
HEBREW MEASURES OF CAPACITY (*MESUROTH*).

DRY MEASURE.							
	Quad.	Cab	Seah	Epha	Kor	Equivalents	
						Cubic inches	Denomination
Quadrans	1	—	—	—	—	24	0·675 pint
Cab .	4	1	—	—	—	96	1·350 quart
Omer .	72	—	—	—	—	172·8	2·415 quart
Seah .	24	6	1	—	—	576	1·012 peck
Epha .	72	18	3	1	—	1,728	0·754 bushel
Kor .	720	180	30	10	1	17,280	0·993 quarter

TABLE XIV.

LIQUID MEASURE							
	Anphak	Log	Hin	Seah	Bath	Equivalents	
						Cubic in.	Denomination
Anphak .	1	—	—	—	—	6	0·675 gill
Log .	4	1	—	—	—	24	0·675 pint
Hin .	48	12	1	—	—	288	1·012 gallon
Seah .	96	24	2	1	—	576	1·012 peck
Bath .	288	72	6	3	1	1,728	6·036 gallons

TABLE XV.
HEBREW MEASURES OF WEIGHT (*MISHKAL*).

	Carat	Gera	Beka	Shekel	Mina	Ciccar	Equivalents	
							Troy Grs.	Ounces
Carat	1	—	—	—	—	—	3 2	
Gera	5	1	—	—	—	—	16	
Beka	50	10	1	—	—	—	160	0.33
Shekel	100	20	2	1	—	—	320	0.66
Mina	5,000	1,000	100	50	1	—	16,000	33.33
Ciccar	300,000	60,000	6,000	3,000	60	1	960,000	166 6

TABLE XVI.
HEBREW MEASURES OF VALUE.

<i>SHEKEL SYSTEM.</i>						
Denomination					Troy grains	Sterling
					Silver	£ s. d.
Gera	.	.	.	.	16	0 0 2
Beka	.	.	.	.	160	0 1 8
Shekel	.	.	.	.	320	0 3 4
Mina (small)	.	.	.	.	—	8 6 8
Mina (large)	.	.	.	.	—	16 13 4
Ciccar	.	.	.	.	—	500 0 0
<i>SELA SYSTEM.</i>						
Prutha	.	.	.	.	$\frac{1}{2}$	0 0 $0\frac{1}{16}$
Kontrinek	.	.	.	.	1	0 0 $0\frac{1}{8}$
Assarion	.	.	.	.	4	0 0 $0\frac{1}{4}$
Pondion	.	.	.	.	8	0 0 1
Zuza	.	.	.	.	96	0 1 0
Tebha	.	.	.	.	192	0 2 0
Rigia	.	.	.	.	288	0 3 0
Sela	.	.	.	.	384	0 4 0
Daric	.	.	.	.	Gold 128	1 1 4

CHAPTER IV.

THE JEWISH YEAR.

THE Jewish year consisted of twelve lunar months, the commencement of each of which was determined by the visible appearance of the new moon. Among the Mohammedans of the present day the lunar determination of the year is absolute. Twelve lunations contain together 354·366 days. A tropical year, or return of the sun to the same apparent place in the heavens, as referred to the solstitial and equinoxial points, contains 365·242 days. Thus the lunar year falls short of the solar year by 10·876 days, or by more than a month in three years. More exactly measured, nineteen solar years are equivalent, within 0·086 of a day, or 2 hours 27 minutes 50 seconds, to 235 lunations. It follows that if seven additional months are added to, or as it is called intercalated in, the course of nineteen years, the courses of the sun and moon will coincide, within the limit above stated, at the close. This discovery, which was made, at least approximately, by the Greek astronomer Meton, was regarded as of such extreme value for regulating the midsummer full moons of the Olympic festivals in Greece, that the place of each year in the cycle of nineteen was called the Golden Number. Since the adoption of this cycle of Meton, in A. N. S. 4376, that mode of fixing the years of intercalation has been in general use among people under the influence of Grecian literature or institutions.

To the Jews the construction of a calendar was forbidden; and to this circumstance is due the great precision with which it is now possible to recover the chief dates of Sacred history. The state of astronomical science was not such, at the date of

the foundation of the institutions of the Law, as to allow of exact predetermination of cycles, or of dates. Simple as such learning is made to appear by the study that has produced our own *Nautical Almanac*, it was not till the time of Newton that the exact length of the year was known with such precision as to allow of the construction of a rule that should work for future centuries without error. But intercalation was provided for by the rule that three ears of barley must be provided for the Paschal feast. The years of intercalation were decided, as they occurred, by a council held for that purpose on the 1st day of Tisri. As all the reckoning of months and of years depended on the actual observation of the moon, and as the paschal moon was kept in its season by the reference to the productions of the earth, the utmost limits of error that could arise were as to one day in a month, and one month in certain years of the cycle of nineteen years. Accumulated error was impossible, and the provision for a second passover was such as to render an error in the fixing of this festival by no means fatal to the regularity of the rite.

In looking back over the range of Jewish history, it is possible by using the Golden Number of Meton, and by applying the correction before indicated, which amounts very closely to one day in 12 Metonic cycles, or 228 years, to indicate very exactly the day of visible new moon, and consequently the 14th day of the month, or the sacred full moon, at any given date. The question of the failure to see the new moon is still open. But as careful observation was made throughout Palestine, and intelligence of the appearance of the crescent was at once communicated to Jerusalem, it may be concluded that the occasions on which the month was made one day late were but few, nor are there any very serious questions that hang on that slight incertitude. For the Jews the main importance of the coincidence was the occurrence of the new moon, which was a festival, on the Sabbath, on which all manner of work was forbidden.

We have described, in another chapter, the seven chief solemnities of the Jewish year. During the standing of the second Temple, two annual festivals, not ordained in the Penta-

teuch, were instituted by the Sanhedrin. Of these the first is the Feast of Purim, on the 14th day of the month Adar, of the origin of which an account is given in the Book of Esther. The Megillah, or roll of the Book of Esther is read in the synagogue on that day; on which, in the Holy Land, Psalms were read in commemoration of the deliverance from Haman. The dates mentioned in the Book of Esther have not been identified. The word Ahasuerus, which name occurs in the Book of Ezra (4. 6) between those of Cyrus and of Darius, is said by Gesenius to be the Hebrew form of Xerxes, whose name in the cuneiform is rendered, Khshwershe, or lion-king. But both the LXX. and Josephus use the name of Artaxerxes. The Greek version of the book contains many chapters not to be found in the Hebrew, which are usually termed Apocrypha, and says that, Dositheus, who called himself a priest and a Levite, and his son Ptolemy, brought the foregoing epistle of Purim, which they declared to exist, and to have been interpreted by Lysimachus, the son of Ptolemy, who was in Jerusalem, in the 4th year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra. This date, if Ptolemy Philometor is intended, as is usually held to be the case, is An. Sac. 4633. The 3rd year of Xerxes was An. Sac. 4326. The 3rd of Artaxerxes was An. Sac. 4346. The Jews regard the Book of Esther with the utmost veneration. It is written on a separate roll, the proper letters being ornamented with crowns, or horns; and the names of the sons of Haman being written one under the other so as to occupy an entire page, or compartment of the roll. No light has as yet been thrown on this chronology by modern exploration.

The first notice of the celebration of the Feast of Lights, or of the Dedication of the Temple, the second of the additional annual festivals, which was held on the 25th day of the month Chisleu, or Casleu, is on the occasion of the restoration of the Temple services by Judas Maccabeus, after the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes. The date is An. Sac. 4645, or within 12 years of the Septuagint date of the Book of Esther. It is remarkable that the day of the year is the same as that on which it may be collected from the Second

Book of Samuel (24. 8, 11, 13, 15, 18) the altar was erected by David on the threshing-floor of Araunah. Palms were borne by the people on this day, as well as on the 1st day of Nisan, the 14th day of Adar, and on the week days of the Feast of Tabernacles.

Two other days of public rejoicing and festivity are noted in the Mishna. Rabban Simcon, son of Gamaliel, said, (Taanith 4. 8), 'There were no such festive days for the Israelites as the 15th of the month Ab, and the Day of Expiation, for on those days the damsels of Jerusalem went out in white garments, and danced amid the vines.' The young men were exhorted to go out and choose themselves wives. Bartenora, in his note on this Mishna says, that on the 15th of Ab the number of those who died in the desert, in the 40th year of the Exodus, was completed; the guards whom Jeroboam the son of Nebat stationed to prevent the Israelites from attending the feasts at Jerusalem were slain; those who were slaughtered at Bethel were buried; the wood offering for the altar ceased; and the power of the sun to dry the wood also failed. The rejoicing at the close of the Day of Expiation was for the remission of sins obtained by the rites of the day, and in memory of the giving of the sacred Tables of the Law. The passage from Canticles, 'Go forth, O ye daughters of Jerusalem,' (3. 11) is added in the Mishna as applied to this festival. 'Understand,' says Rabban Simcon, 'by the day of the gladness of his heart, the building of the Holy House, may it soon be restored in our days, Amen!' The Mishna does not identify either of these days with the feast of the Lord in Shiloh of the Book of Judges (21. 19); but the coming out of the daughters of Shiloh 'to dance in dances' is shown, by that passage, to be a festival as ancient as the time of the High priest Phineas, the grandson of Aaron.

A festival was instituted in the 170th year of the Seleucidæ, An. Sac. 4671, on the 17th day of Elul, to commemorate the expulsion of the Greek garrison from the fortress on the northernmost of the two hills within the ancient walls of Jerusalem, which is called Millo in the Old Testament, and Akra by Josephus.

The day is still commemorated in the Jewish almanack, and is there also said to be that on which occurred the death of the spies (Numbers 14, 37).

Three solemn fasts, not instituted by Moses, were established by the Sanhedrin during the time of the first and second Temples. They are referred to by the prophet Zechariah (7. 5 and 8. 19). They fell on the 17th day of Tamuz, on the 9th day of Ab, and on the 10th day of Tebeth. On the 17th day of Tamuz (Taanith 4. 7) the tables of the Law were broken by Moses (Exodus 32. 19); the daily sacrifice ceased, during the siege of Jerusalem; the wall of the city was broken down; the Law was burned by the Greek general Apostunus; and an idol was set up in the Temple. It is in dispute whether that idol was erected by Manasseh, or, during the time of the second Temple, by the Greeks. The events during the siege refer to the siege by Nebuchadnezzar.

On the 9th of Ab (according to the explanation given by the Jews of the 14th chapter of Numbers) it was decreed by God that the Israelites should not enter the Holy Land; the first, and also the second, Temple were destroyed; the city of Bethel was taken; and Jerusalem itself was destroyed, and the plough driven over its site.

On the 10th of Tebeth (Ezek. 24. 1) the siege of Jerusalem was commenced by Nebuchadnezzar.

The 8th of Tebeth is also marked in the Jewish almanack as a fast for the translation of the Law into Greek (the LXX. Version) by order of the High priest Eleasar; and the 8th, 9th, and 10th days of this month are regarded as the anniversaries of the three days' darkness in Egypt. On the year preceding the Exodus these days of this lunar month coincided with the 30th and 31st of December and the 1st of January of our present reckoning.

On the week in which the 9th of Ab fell, it was prohibited (Taanith 4. 7) to wash, or to shave, except on the 5th day of the week, in honour of the Sabbath. On the evening of the 9th of Ab it was forbidden to eat of dishes of two kinds, to taste flesh, or to drink wine.

The Day of Atonement was a most rigid fast. It was forbidden on that day to eat, to drink, to wash, to anoint, to put on shoes, or to offer any conjugal endearments. The king and a newly married woman were the only persons permitted to wash their faces on that day; the king, because he was always to appear beautiful to his people, and the bride, lest her husband might take a dislike to her. Children were not to be made to fast, but gradually to be instructed in the duties of the day. Sick persons were allowed food. In the case of anyone faint with hunger, or injured by accident, or by the fall of a wall, or by the bite of a mad dog, or a violent sore throat, the rule 'Danger of life supersedes the Sabbath,' (to which the great Hillel is said to have owed his life when a boy) applied to the Day of Atonement.

In addition to these annual fasts, ecclesiastical fasts were ordered in the case of the failure of rain. An interval of fourteen days was fixed by Rabban Gamaliel, from the termination of the Feast of Tabernacles to the commencement of the prayer for rain. If in ten days after that, that is to say by the 17th day of Marchesvan, no rain had fallen, a fast of three days was ordered; during which it was forbidden to eat or to drink before nightfall, but it was allowable to work, to wash, to anoint, and to wear shoes.

If the month of Cisleu commenced without any quantity of rain having fallen, the Sanhedrin ordered three more days to be observed, called Fasts of the Church, on the second, fifth, and again on the second day of the week. If these passed without the desired rain, three more severe fasts were enjoined, in which, in addition to food and drink, work, washing, anointing, wearing shoes, and domestic endearments were forbidden. The public baths were closed. If these days expired without rain, seven more fast days of a yet more strict character, were enjoined, making in all thirteen fasts of the Church. The shops were then closed, with the exception of a partial opening at nightfall on the second day of the week, and an opening on the evening of the fifth day, in honour of the Sabbath. Shopbarns, or cornets, were blown in the streets.

If the drought still continued, all acts of purchase, sale, building, planting, espousals, betrothals, and mutual salutations were forbidden. Men were to conduct themselves as under the visible displeasure of the Most High. The Ark containing the roll of the Law was brought forth into the public place of the city, and covered with ashes. The rulers and people cast dust on their heads, and the most venerable elder recited the words of penitence; saying, 'Brethren, was it not said of the Ninevites, "and God respected their sackcloth and their fasting," as it is written in the Book of Jonah (3. 10). "And God saw their works, that they ceased from the wickedness of their deeds"? And in Kabbala (that is, in the words of Joel 2. 13), the precept is written, "Rend your hearts, and not your garments."' The subsequent prayers and lessons are prescribed in the treatise Taanith (2. 2).

The chief references to the days of the month which occur in the Bible, the Mishna, the Antiquities and Wars of Josephus, and the modern Jewish Almanack, are given in the annexed Calendar.

The incidental references made in the Bible to eclipses of the sun or of the moon, although they have not failed to attract the notice of scholars, have not hitherto been fully investigated. Amongst all ancient people, as amongst many tribes at the present day, the occurrence of an eclipse, especially if approaching totality, has always been a cause of terror. The care which was taken to prevent the study of astronomy by the Jews was no doubt induced by a knowledge of the intimate connection of astronomical observation with attempts at astrological divination and with idolatrous worship. There is thus no doubt that among the majority of the inhabitants of the Holy Land these phenomena were regarded at once as indications of menace, and as, if predicted by a prophet, among the most indubitable proofs of his authority (cf. Deut. 13. 2, Mark 8. 11, Luke 11. 16). One of the most remarkable illustrations of this view occurs in the Book of Amos (8. 9), of which the date is referred to an earthquake as yet unidentified. The last year of the reign of Jeroboam, son of Joash, king of Israel, who is

referred to in the verse that dates the book, is not decided, because 41 years from the 15th year of Amaziah (2 Kings 14. 23) gives the date An. Sac. 4035, while the accession of Zachariah his son who reigned in his stead is given as in the 38th year of Azariah, king of Judah (2 Kings 15. 8), which was An. Sac. 4046 or 4047. In the latter year, according to a discovery described in 'Assyrian Discoveries' (p. 11), an eclipse of the sun which occurred on the 15th of June is recorded in the cuneiform inscriptions.

The earliest records of eclipses which have been usually considered as accessible for calculation are those of fourteen eclipses of the moon, occurring from An. Sac. 4089 to An. Sac. 4209, which are treated on at length in the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. This great astronomer, however, mentions the fact that records of eclipses reaching as far back as An. Sac. 2600 had been kept at Babylon, and that copies of the record were in the library at Alexandria. It would have been impossible to give any attentive study to such a record, after it had been in existence for one or two centuries, without being struck by that remarkable recurrence in the order of eclipses, the exact statement of which, under the Babylonian name of the Saros, is said to have been known to the Greek astronomer Thales.

In a period of 18 solar years, or, more accurately speaking, of 223 lunations, seventy-two eclipses occur, visible in different parts of the world. Of these there are 27 central, and 16 partial, eclipses of the sun, and 11 total, and 18 partial eclipses of the moon, according to the present relations of the planetary elements. At the expiration of the cycle, the series recommences, in the same order, but at a different time of the day by about 8 hours. But by taking a period of 54 years, or of 669 lunations, the recurrence is within 52 minutes of the time of the preceding occasion. The exactitude is not absolute, and there is a secular change in the form of the cycle. But it permitted, in the early state of science, a method of prediction of the utmost value; and a publication of the mode of revolution of the Saros, corrected by the data of modern astronomy,

would be a great boon to the historic writer. Tables of visible eclipses are given in an old French folio work of value, called 'L'Art de Verifier les Dates.' The work most full of information to be consulted on the subject of eclipses in the English language is one entitled the 'Chrono-Astrolabe,' by James Bowman Lindsay, which was published by Bohn in 1858.

The relations of the Saros are such as to indicate, from the identification of the ancient eclipses, such as that of An. Sac. 4047, the years of other great eclipses that occurred at nearly the same hour of the day, and were visible in neighbouring localities. Thus the passage in Habakkuk (3. 11), 'The sun and moon stood still in their habitation;' more literally, 'sun, moon, stood in their house,' (a term familiarly used in ancient astrology), probably refers to an eclipse of the sun in An. Sac. 4155 (cf. Joel 2. 10). The years 4101 and 4107 also witnessed visible and important eclipses of the sun. The eclipse of the moon which is mentioned by Josephus (17 Ant. 6. 4) as occurring on the night before a solemnity, is identified by Mr. Lindsay as occurring on March 13 (15 Gregorian), An. Sac. 4806. It is possible that the Passover is referred to, but the information is not conclusive. The word *nistia*, used by Josephus, has been translated *fast*; but there is no fast in the Jewish calendar that falls on the day of the full moon. It is probable that much information will hereafter be made accessible as to the eclipses of ancient history.

Since the destruction of the Library of Alexandria, the most ancient records of eclipses known to exist are those of China. These eclipses (when of the sun) would not be visible in Palestine; but their registration is of the utmost value with reference to the exact position of the planets at a very remote time. In the 'Chun Tsin,' a book written by Confucius (B.C. 550-477), are records of thirty-six eclipses, all of which, except four, have, it is stated by Mr. Lindsay, been verified. The earliest of these eclipses was in An. Sac. 4090. But in the 'Shu King,' another Chinese work, an eclipse of the sun at the autumnal equinox, in the constellation Scorpio, is mentioned, which has been identified with an eclipse in An. Sac. 2655. It is further stated

that the official astronomers, Hi and Ho, were beheaded for having failed to predict this eclipse. Mr. Lindsay further calls attention to a conjunction of the five planets, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, in the constellation Shih, or Pisces, when the Emperor Chuen Hio made the calendar—a conjunction referred to the year An. Sac. 2361.

• Mr. Lindsay further refers to the great saving of calculation that may be obtained by the use of ecliptic periods, and mentions one combination of the Chaldean period of the Saros, or cycle of eighteen years and ten days, before described, which gives the nearly similar recurrence of an eclipse in a period of 3,328 years, 45 days, 3 hours, and 29 minutes. By the use of this term an approximate determination of many ancient eclipses is nearly attained. It will hence be found that the eclipse of the year 4047, taken from the Assyrian records, was the same, in its elements and position in the Saros, as the great total eclipse of the sun which the Astronomer Royal went to the summit of the Superga, near Turin, to observe, on 28th July, 1851; and that the annular eclipse of the sun, which took place on 25th April, 1846, was the recurrence of one visible in Palestine, An. Sac. 3311 (Josh. 10. 12). It should be remembered, with regard to any ancient reference to these important cosmical conjunctions, that the scientific meaning now attached to the word 'eclipse' was unknown to early writers. To speak of the sun as failing or stopping in its functions was the natural language to use. The nearest approach, and it is a very close one, to an objective description of these phenomena in the Bible, is that which is quoted from the Book of Joel in the Acts of the Apostles, as a warning of evil: 'The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood.'

THE HEBREW ALMANACK.

NOTE.—The Lunar Year returns to the same point of commencement, in reference to the Solar Year, in the Metonic Cycle of 19 years. Thus 19 different adjustments of the second and fourth columns of the following Calendar occur; that proper for each year being ascertained by the use of the Golden Number, together with the correction of one day for each major lunar cycle of 228 years. The relation of the days of the week to those of the tropical solar year are determined by the Cycle of 400 years. The earliest date on which the 1st day of Nisan could fall was the 5th of March. The Calendar which follows is that for An. Sac. 4805, the year preceding the NATIVITY.

The first three columns refer to the Gregorian Year, as it is now used in our Almanacks; the fourth and seventh, to the Lunar Year. The sixth indicates the revolution of the Cycle of the Courses of the Priests.

The year consisted alternately of 354 and 355 days; the 13th month, called VEADAR, being inserted seven times in nineteen years, as in the Metonic Cycle. But the intercalation was fixed by observation, and not by calendar. No references to days in Veadar are given.

Ⲛ and ⲫ are used in the modern Jewish Almanacks to denote, respectively, Holy, and Defiled or Ill-omened.

THE FIRST MONTH.

Heb.: **Abib.** Aramaic: **Nisan.** Macedonian: **Xanthicus.** Attic: **Anthesterion.**

Day of Calendar Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No. of Priests' Course	Day of Lunar Month
March 8	61	D	1	Messengers may profane the Sabbath, Palmsborne. Wood offering. <i>Ex.</i> 40. 2, 17. <i>Ez.</i> 26. 1; 29. 17. <i>Rosh Hash.</i> 1. 1; 4. 1. <i>Ezr.</i> 7. 9; 10. 27		
9	62	E	2	✧ NADAB and ABIHU	22	1
10	63	F	3	<i>Dan.</i> 10. 1		2
11	64	G	4			3
12	65	A	5			4
13	66	B	6			5
14	67	C	7	<i>Josh.</i> 3. 2; 4. 19. <i>Ezek.</i> 30. 20		6
15	68	D	8	Prodigy. Light seen. 6 <i>Wars</i> 5. 3		7
16	69	E	9		23	8
17	70	F	10	✧ MIRIAM. Lamb set apart for Pasque. <i>Josh.</i> 4. 19. <i>Ezek.</i> 40. 1. [2 <i>Ant.</i> 14. 6		9
18	71	G	11	<i>Ezr.</i> 8. 31		10
19	72	A	12	Search for leaven. PASQUE. <i>Est.</i> 3. 12. <i>Pesach.</i> 1. 1; 5. 1		11
20	73	B	13	Prayer for Rain. <i>Ex.</i> 23. 14. Roman Camp pitched. Fight in Temple. 5 <i>Wars</i> 2. 4; 3. 1. <i>Taanith</i> 1. 2		12
21	74	C	14	□ Unleavened bread. MASADA taken. 7 <i>Wars</i> 9. 1. 2 <i>Ant.</i> 15. 2. <i>Khag.</i> 1. 1		13
22	75	D	15	□ First-fruits. <i>Matt.</i> 28. 1. <i>Mark</i> 16. 1. <i>Luke</i> 24. 1. <i>John</i> 20. 1. 1 <i>Cor.</i> 15. 4		14
23	76	E	16	□ Third day of unleavened bread	24	15
24	77	F	17	□ Fourth " "		16
25	78	G	18	□ Fifth " "		17
26	79	A	19	□ Sixth " "		18
27	80	B	20	□ Seventh " "		19
28	81	C	21	Siege of JERUSALEM commenced. [5 <i>Wars</i> 7. 2		20
29	82	D	22			21
30	83	E	23	<i>Dan.</i> 10. 4	1	22
31	84	F	24			23
April 1	85	G	25			24
2	86	A	26			25
3	87	B	27			26
4	88	C	28			27
5	89	D	29			28
6	90	E	30		2	29
						30

SECOND MONTH.

Heb. : Zif. Aramaic : Ijar. Macedonian : Artemisius. Attic : Elaphebolion

Day of Calendar Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No. of Priests' 'course	Day of Lunar Month
April 7	91	F	31	Foundation of Second Temple laid. 11 <i>Ant.</i> 4. 2. <i>Num.</i> 1. 1. 1 <i>Kings</i> 6. 1. 2 <i>Chron.</i> 3. 2		1
8	92	G	32			2
9	93	A	33			3
10	94	B	34			4
11	95	C	35			5
12	96	D	36			6
13	97	E	37	Dedication of Temple. Outer wall taken on 15th day of siege. 5 <i>Wars</i> 7. 2	3	7
14	98	F	38			8
15	99	G	39			9
13	100	A	40			10
17	101	B	41	* ELI		11
18	102	C	42	Second wall taken, 20th day of siege. 5 <i>Wars</i> 8. 1		12
19	103	D	43	JOTAPATA invested. 3 <i>Wars</i> 7. 36.		13
20	104	E	44		4	14
21	105	F	45	Wilderness entered. <i>Ex.</i> 16. 1. TITUS regains second wall. 5 <i>Wars</i> 9. 2. SECOND PASQUE .		15
22	106	G	46	BERNICE insulted. 2 <i>Wars</i> 15. 2. War began 4875. 2 <i>Wars</i> 15. 2. 3 <i>Wars</i> 7. 3		16
23	107	A	47			17
24	108	B	48	LAG LE OMER. Feast of the School.		18
25	109	C	49			19
26	110	D	50			20
27	111	E	51	Relief of JOTAPATA. 3 <i>Wars</i> 7. 3 .	5	21
28	112	F	52			22
29	113	G	53			23
30	114	A	54			24
May 1	115	B	55			25
2	116	C	56	<i>Acts</i> 1. 3		26
3	117	D	57	* SAMUEL		27
4	118	E	58		6	28
5	119	F	59	Roman banks complete. 5 <i>Wars</i> 11. 4		29

THIRD MONTH.

Heb. and Aramaic: Sivan. Macedonian: Daesius. Attic: Munychion.

Day of Civil Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No. of Priests' Course	Day of Lunar Month
May 6	120	G	60	<i>Ex.</i> 19. 1. <i>Ezek.</i> 31. 1. <i>Shekalim</i> 3. 1		1
7	121	A	61			2
8	122	B	62			3
9	123	C	63			4
10	124	D	64			5
11	125	E	65		7	6
12	126	F	66	Π PENTECOST. <i>Ex.</i> 23. 16; 34. 22. <i>Deut.</i> 16. 10. 6 <i>Wars</i> 5. 3. <i>Acts</i> 2. 1; 18. 21. <i>Ant.</i> 20. 16; 21. 18. <i>Megillah</i> 2. 5		7
				Second day of Pentecost		8
13	127	G	67			9
14	128	A	68			10
15	129	B	69			11
16	130	C	70			12
17	131	D	71			13
18	132	E	72		8	14
19	133	F	73			15
20	134	G	74			16
21	135	A	75			17
22	136	B	76			18
23	137	C	77			19
24	138	D	78			20
25	139	E	79	Repulse of VESPASIAN. 3 <i>Wars</i> 7. 29	9	21
26	140	F	80			22
27	141	G	81			23
28	142	A	82	<i>Est.</i> 8. 9		24
29	143	B	83			25
30	144	C	84	* R. SIMBON. JAPHIA taken by TITUS. 3 <i>Wars</i> 7. 31. . . .		26
31 June 1	145	D	85			27
	146	E	86	‡ JEROBOAM. JERUSALEM taken by POMPEY. 14 <i>Ant.</i> 4. 3. By HEROD. 14 <i>Ant.</i> 16. 4. GERIZIM taken by Romans. 3 <i>Wars</i> 7. 32	10	28
2	147	F	87			29
3	148	G	88			30
4	149	A	89			

FOURTH MONTH.

Heb. and Aramaic: Tamuz. Macedonian: Panemus. Attic: Gargellion.

Day of Calendar Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No. of Priests Course	Day of Lunar Month
June						
5	150	B	90	JOTAPATA taken. 3 <i>Wars</i> 7. 36 .	.	1
6	151	C	91			2
7	152	D	92	~ SABINUS. 6 <i>Wars</i> 1. 6 . . .		3
8	153	E	93	VEASPASIAN returns to PTOLEMAIS. 3 <i>Wars</i> 9. 1. <i>Ezek.</i> 1. 1. AN- TONIA taken. 6 <i>Wars</i> 1. 7. .	11	4
9	154	F	94			5
10	155	G	95			6
11	156	A	96			7
12	157	B	97			8
13	158	C	98	Famine prevails in city. 2 <i>Kings</i> 25. 3	12	9
14	159	D	99	Men of war fly. 2 <i>Kings</i> 25. 4 .		10
15	160	E	100			11
16	161	F	101	<i>Ezek.</i> 3. 16		12
17	162	G	102			13
18	163	A	103			14
19	164	B	104			15
20	165	C	105			16
21	166	D	106	~ Five great calamities befel. <i>Zech.</i> 8. 19. <i>Taanith</i> 4. 4. See p. 86 .	13	17
22	167	E	107			18
23	168	F	108			19
24	169	G	109	Wood offering	14	20
25	170	A	110			21
26	171	B	111			22
27	172	C	112			23
28	173	D	113			24
29	174	E	114			25
30	175	F	115			26
July						
1	176	G	116	Cloister burnt on 94th day of siege. 6 <i>Wars</i> 3. 1		27
2	177	A	117			28
3	178	B	118	NEHEMIAH at JERUSALEM on Sab- bath. <i>N.h.</i> 2. 12		29

FIFTH MONTH.

Heb. and Aramaic: Ab. Macedonian: Lous. Attic: Skirrophorion.

Day of Calendar Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No. of Priests' Course	Day of Lunar Month
July 4	179	C	119	✱ AARON. Messenger sent to announce New Moon. TEMPLE bunt. <i>Ezr.</i> 7. 9. <i>Neh.</i> 3. 1. 10 <i>Ant.</i> 8. 5. <i>Rosh Hash.</i> 1. 3.		1
5	180	D	120			2
6	181	E	121	<i>Neh.</i> 3. 1; cf. 6. 15. Third day of week. ELIASHIB commences Wall	15	3
7	182	F	122			4
8	183	G	123	Wood offering. <i>Taanith</i> 4. 5		5
9	184	A	124	[25. 8		6
10	185	B	125	Wood offering. Spies sent. 2 <i>Kings</i>		7
11	186	C	126	Two banks completed. 6 <i>Wars</i> 10. 1		8
12	187	D	127	✱ Five great calamities. <i>Deut.</i> 4. 24 read. <i>Jer.</i> 29. 2. <i>Zech.</i> 8. 3; 8. 19. See p. 86		9
13	188	E	128	Wood offering. <i>Ezek.</i> 20. 1. 6 <i>Wars</i> 4. 5-8. <i>Taanith</i> 4. 9. <i>Megillah</i> 3. 6	16	10
14	189	F	129			11
15	190	G	130			12
16	191	A	131	[14. 13		13
17	192	B	132	Bouphonia. PAUL at LYSTRA. <i>Acts</i>		14
18	193	C	133	Wood offering. Dance of Virgins. <i>Cant.</i> 3. 11. 2 <i>Wars</i> 17. 7. [<i>Taanith</i> 4. 8		15
19	194	D	134			16
20	195	E	135		17	17
21	196	F	136			18
22	197	G	137			19
23	198	A	138	Wood offering. 116th day of siege. [6 <i>Wars</i> 8. 1		20
24	199	B	139			21
25	200	C	140			22
26	201	D	141			23
27	202	E	142		18	24
28	203	F	143			25
29	204	G	144			26
30	205	A	145			27
31	206	B	146			28
Aug. 1	207	C	147			29
2	208	D	148	Day for tithing cattle. <i>Shek.</i> 3. 1.		30

SIXTH MONTH.

Heb. and Aramaic: **Elul**. Macedonian: **Gorpiaeus**. Attic: **Hecatombeon**.

Day of Calendar Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No. of Priests' Courses	Day of Lunar Month
Aug. 3	209	E	149	Messengers sent. New year for cattle tithe. <i>Rosh Hush.</i> 1. 1 .	19	1
4	210	F	150			2
5	211	G	151			3
6	212	A	152	2 Wars 17. 8		4
7	213	B	153	TITUS takes JERUSALEM. 2 Wars 17. 8. * High Priest. 6 Wars 8. 4. <i>Ezek.</i> 8. 1.		5
8	214	C	154	Sea-fight on Lake of GENNESARET. 3 Wars 10. 10. 134th day of siege. 6 Wars 8. 5		6
9	215	D	155			7
10	216	E	156		20	8
11	217	F	157			9
12	218	G	158			10
13	219	A	159			11
14	220	B	160			12
15	221	C	161			13
16	222	D	162			14
17	223	E	163		21	15
18	224	F	164			16
19	225	G	165	π * Spies. Expulsion of Greeks. [See p. 85]		17
20	226	A	166			18
21	227	B	167			19
22	228	C	168	Wood offering. Theoxenia. PAUL at ATHENS. <i>Acts</i> 17. 23. <i>Taanith</i> 4. 5		20
23	229	D	169			21
24	230	E	170	Court of AREOPAGUS sits, 22, 23, 24	22	22
25	231	F	171			23
26	232	G	172	<i>Hag.</i> 1. 15		24
27	233	A	173	Wall finished. <i>Neh.</i> 6. 15		25
28	234	B	174			26
29	235	C	175			27
30	236	D	176			28
31	237	E	177		23	29

SEVENTH MONTH.

Heb. : Ethanim. Aramaic : Tisri. Macedonian : Hyperberetæus. Attic : Metagitilon.

Day of Calendar Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No. of Priests' Course	Day of Lunar Month
Sept. 1	238	F	178	FEAST of TRUMPETS. Messengers may profane the Sabbath. <i>Neh</i> 7. 73. <i>Ezr.</i> 8. 1 (fell on third day of week). <i>Rosh Hash.</i> 1. 1.		1
2	239	G	179	<i>Neh.</i> 8. 13. <i>Ezr.</i> 8. 15		2
3	240	A	180	‡ GEDALIAH. High priest sepa- rated. <i>Yoma</i> 1. 1		3
4	241	B	181			4
5	242	C	182			5
6	243	D	183			6
7	244	E	184		24	7
8	245	F	185			8
9	246	G	186			9
10	247	A	187	‡ GREAT FAST. Day of Atone- ment. <i>Lev.</i> 16. 29. <i>Zech.</i> 8. 19. <i>Acts</i> 27. 9. <i>Yoma</i> passim. <i>Taanith</i> 4. 1-8. <i>Megillah</i> 3. 5. See p. 87.		10
11	248	B	188			11
12	249	C	189			12
13	250	D	190			13
14	251	E	191	□ FEAST OF TABERNACLES. <i>Lev.</i> 23. 16. <i>Succah</i> passim. <i>Megillah</i> 2. 5. <i>Neh.</i> 8. 18. <i>Ezr.</i> 3. 4 . .	1	14
15	252	F	192	□ Second day of feast		15
16	253	G	193	□ Third " "		16
17	254	A	194	□ Fourth " "		17
18	255	B	195	□ Fifth " "		18
19	256	C	196	□ Sixth " "		19
20	257	D	197	□ Seventh " " [8. 18		20
21	258	E	198	□ Palms borne. <i>Hag.</i> 2. 1. <i>Neh.</i>	2	21
22	259	F	199	Prayer for rain		22
23	260	G	200	□ Law finished. GAMALA taken. 4 <i>Wars</i> 1. 9-10		23
24	261	A	201	<i>Neh.</i> 9. 1 (on fifth day of week) .		24
25	262	B	202			25
26	263	C	203			26
27	264	D	204	CESTIUS encamps on SCOPUS. 2		27
28	265	E	205	[<i>Wars</i> 19. 4	3	28
29	266	F	206			29
30	267	G	207	CESTIUS enters JERUSALEM . .		30

THE EIGHTH MONTH.

Hebrew and Aramaic: Bul. Macedonian: Dios. Attic: Boedromion.

Day of Calendar Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No. of Priests' Course	Day of Lunar Month
Oct.						
1	268	A	208			1
2	269	B	209			2
3	270	C	210	Prayer for rain—or on 7th day		3
4	271	D	211			4
5	272	E	212		4	5
6	273	F	213	Ruin of JERUSALEM. 6 <i>Wars</i> 8. 4.		6
7	274	G	214	* Sons of ZEDEKIAH. <i>Taanith</i> 1. 3		7
8	275	A	215	Retreat of CESTIUS. 2 <i>Wars</i> 19. 9.		8
9	276	B	216			9
10	277	C	217			10
11	278	D	218			11
12	279	E	219		5	12
13	280	F	220			13
14	281	G	221			14
15	282	A	222	Altar in BETHEL. 1 <i>Kings</i> 12. 32.		15
16	283	B	223			16
17	284	C	224	Severe fast for rain, if absent. <i>Taanith</i> 1. 4		17
18	285	D	225			18
19	286	E	226		6	19
20	287	F	227			20
21	288	G	228			21
22	289	A	229			22
23	290	B	230			23
24	291	C	231			24
25	292	D	232			25
26	293	E	233		7	26
27	294	F	234			27
28	295	G	235			28
29	296	A	236			29
30	297	B	237			

THE NINTH MONTH.

Hebrew and Aramaic: **Chisleu or Casleu.** Macedonian: **Apellæus.** Attic: **Pyaneption**

Day of Calendar Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No of Priests' Course	Day of Lunar Month
Oct. 31	298	C	238	Messengers sent. <i>Rosh Hash.</i> 1. 3		1
Nov. 1	299	D	239	<i>Taanith</i> 1. 5		2
2	300	E	240		8	3
3	301	F	241	Fasts for three days, if no rain has fallen. <i>Zech.</i> 7. 1		4
4	302	G	242			5
5	303	A	243	‡ 2. JERUSALEM burnt		6
6	304	B	244	* HEROD. AN. SAC. 4806. Baths closed, if no rain, and three more [days' fast		7
7	305	C	245			8
8	306	D	246			9
9	307	E	247		9	10
10	308	F	248			11
11	309	G	249			12
12	310	A	250			13
13	311	B	251			14
14	312	C	252			15
15	313	D	253			16
16	314	E	254		10	17
17	315	F	255			18
18	316	G	256	Seven days graver fast, if no rain. Shops closed		19
19	317	A	257	2 <i>Sam.</i> 24. 8. <i>Ezr.</i> 10. 9. Wives put away. 11 <i>Ant.</i> 5. 4		20
20	318	B	258	Wood offering. <i>Taanith</i> 4. 5		21
21	319	C	259			22
22	320	D	260			23
23	321	E	261	<i>Hag.</i> 2. 10	11	24
24	322	F	262	1 <i>Mac.</i> 1. 21. 12 <i>Ant.</i> 7. 6		25
25	323	G	263	¶ Feast of LIGHTS. Palms borne. <i>Megillah</i> 3. 6. 8. 9		26
26	324	A	264			27
27	325	B	265			28
28	326	C	266			29
29	327	D	267			30

THE TENTH MONTH.

Hebrew and Aramaic: **Tebeth.** Macedonian: **Audynens.** Attic: **Memactineon.**

Day of Calendar Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No. of Priests' Course	Day of Lunar Month
Nov. 30	328	E	268	<i>Ezr.</i> 10. 16. 11 <i>Ant.</i> 5. 4 . . .	12	1
Dec. 1	329	F	269			2
2	330	G	270			3
3	331	A	271			4
4	332	B	272	News of fall of city. <i>Ezek.</i> 33. 21 .		5
5	333	C	273			6
6	334	D	274			7
7	335	E	275	⚡ Fast for LXX. Version of Law. <i>Zech.</i> 8. 19	13	8
8	336	F	276	⚡ Three days' darkness in EGYPT .		9
9	337	G	277	⚡ Siege commenced by Nebuchad- nezzar. <i>Ezek.</i> 24. 1. 10 <i>Ant.</i> 8. 4		10
10	338	A	278			11
11	339	B	279	<i>Ezek.</i> 29. 1		12
12	340	C	280			13
13	341	D	281			14
14	342	E	282		14	15
15	343	F	283			16
16	344	G	284			17
17	345	A	285			18
18	346	B	286			19
19	347	C	287			20
20	348	D	288			21
21	349	E	289		15	22
22	350	F	290			23
23	351	G	291			24
24	352	A	292			25
25	353	B	293			26
26	354	C	294			27
27	355	D	295	⚡ Expulsion of Sadducees. An. Sac. 4732		28
28	356	E	296		16	29

THE ELEVENTH MONTH.

Hebrew: **Sebat.** Aramaic: **Asbat.** Macedonian: **Peritius.** Attic: **Posideon.**

Day of Calendar Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No. of Priests' Course	Day of Lunar Month
Dec.						
29	357	F	297	New year for trees. <i>Rosh Hash.</i> 1. 1	17	1
30	358	G	298			2
31	359	A	299			3
Jan.						
1	360	B	300			4
2	361	C	301			5
3	362	D	302			6
4	363	E	303			7
5	364	F	304			8
6	365	G	305			9
7	1	A	306			10
8	2	B	307			11
9	3	C	308			12
10	4	D	309			13
11	5	E	310		18	14
12	6	F	311			15
13	7	G	312			16
14	8	A	313			17
15	9	B	314			18
16	10	C	315			19
17	11	D	316			20
18	12	E	317	League against BENJAMIN . . . <i>Zech.</i> 1. 7	19	21
19	13	F	318			22
20	14	G	319			23
21	15	A	320			24
22	16	B	321			25
23	17	C	322			26
24	18	D	323			27
25	19	E	324		20	28
26	20	F	325			29
27	21	G	326			30

THE TWELFTH MONTH.

Hebrew and Aramaic : **Adar**. Macedonian : **Dysteus**. Attic : **Ægitneon**.

Day of Calendar Month	Day of Solar Year	Day of Week	Day of Lunar Year	Events	No. of Priests' Courses	Day of Lunar Month
Jan. 28	22	A	327	✠ MOSES. Messengers sent. <i>Ez.</i> 32. 1		1
29	23	B	328			2
30	24	C	329	<i>Ezr.</i> 6. 15. The House finished. An. Sac. 4294		3
31	25	D	330			4
Feb. 1	26	E	331	The first Sabbath. (Anno 4805) <i>Megillah</i> 3. 4	21	5
2	27	F	332			6
3	28	G	333			7
4	29	A	334			8
5	30	B	335			9
6	31	C	336			10
7	32	D	337	<i>Megillah</i> 1. 1.		11
8	33	E	338			12
9	34	F	339	✠ Esther. <i>Megillah</i> 3. 6. 9		13
10	35	G	340	Feast of Purim. Palms borne. <i>Est.</i> 9. 21		14
11	36	A	341	<i>Ezek.</i> 32. 17. <i>Shekal.</i> 1. 1		15
12	37	B	342			16
13	38	C	343			17
14	39	D	344			18
15	40	E	345			19
16	41	F	346			20
17	42	G	347			21
18	43	A	348			22
19	44	B	349	□ Dedication of Temple by ZERUB- BABEL. 11 <i>Ant.</i> 4. 1		23
20	45	C	350			24
21	46	D	351	Tables of tax gatherers set in <i>Jeru-</i> <i>salem</i>		25
22	47	E	352			26
23	48	F	353	✠ NEBUCHADNEZZAR. 2 <i>Kings</i> 25. 27		27
24	49	G	354			28
25	50	A	355	Tithes of cattle		29

CHAPTER V.

THE HEBREW RITUAL.

Two special and solemn rites, of which the institution is recorded in the Pentateuch, and the most minute details have been handed down by tradition, underlay the whole complex cycle of the Hebrew Ritual. Of these, the first was performed only once in the whole history of the nation, the curse of Keritoth, or penal death, being held (Exod. 30. 33) to apply to its repetition, even in extreme need. Of the second, that of the Sacrifice of the Red Heifer, the treatise of the Mishna which describes the performance mentions only eight repetitions since the first celebration by Moses; and the tenth solemnization is said to be deferred until the Coming of the Messiah. On the first of these rites, the preparation of the holy oil, depended the consecration of the priesthood, of the Tabernacle, the Temple, and the vessels of the Sanctuary, and, from the time of Saul to that of Josiah, of the king. As a sequel of the second, the removal of that dreaded pollution which was incurred by any contact with the dead, their relics, or their sepulchres, was effected, as it became necessary, by water in which had been steeped the ashes of the only sacrifice which, after the establishment of the Temple, it was lawful to offer without its walls.

The proportions of the ingredients of the holy oil are stated in the Pentateuch; and the mode of its preparation, as well as that of the holy incense, is detailed by Maimonides in his comment on the first Mishna of the treatise Keritoth. The High priest, his eldest son, and the Messiah Milchama, or deputy High priest chosen to accompany the forces in time of war, were anointed on the head, and between the eyebrows, in the form of the

Greek letter X. The kings of the house of David were anointed in the form of a crown on their foreheads. It was not customary to anoint a son of the king during the lifetime of his father; the case of Solomon being regarded as exceptional, and as ordered with a view to prevent a disputed succession. The holy oil failed in the reign of king Josiah, and the rite of unction has not been administered since that time. „ „

The tract Parah, which describes the ritual of the sacrifice on Mount Olivet, is shown by the names of the Tanaim, or Doctors of the Law, which occur in the earliest part of it, to have assumed its present form not earlier than the end of the first, or the beginning of the second, century of our era. Rabbi Elieser, with whose name the treatise commences, died A.D. 73. Rabbi Joshua was his contemporary; and Rabbi Meir, the third Tanaite referred to in the treatise, died A.D. 130. We thus learn that the tract is an attempt on the part of these doctors and their contemporaries, on the overthrow of the Jewish polity, to preserve those exact details of the ritual which, down to that time, had not been authoritatively committed to writing.

The victim for this rite was a virgin heifer of a pure red colour. Two black or two white hairs, if growing together (or, according to the opinion of some doctors, if found on any part of the body of the animal) rendered it unfit for slaughter. The age and size were not prescribed.

In anticipation of the performance of the rite, a woman expecting to become a mother was brought into one of the *lish-coth*, or chambers of the Temple, which was set apart for the purpose, and kept there till her child was born. The child so born was brought up within the sacred precincts, and protected from any chance of incurring ceremonial pollution. When the time for the rite arrived, this child was seated on a wooden litter borne by bullocks, and conducted to the fountain of Siloah. There the child descended, and drew water from the spring in an earthen vessel, bearing which, he was reconducted, as he came, to the Temple.

A bridge in two tiers, or arcades, the upper piers being built on the crowns of the lower arches, was constructed across the

deep ravine of the Kedron Valley, which separated the Temple from Mount Olivet. The object of this mode of construction was to prevent any possible pollution from the contact of any mortuary relic with the lower piers of the bridge. Such pollution was not supposed to contaminate the arch above by passing through the air, though it would pass, according to the traditional rules, through a continuous wall or pier. The heifer was brought into the priests' court, and conducted by the High priest, preceded by the elders of the Senate, over this bridge, to the summit of the Mount of Olives, which was exactly opposite the door of the Holy House.

A *tabalish*, or plunging bath, was prepared on the summit of Olivet, in which the Pontiff immersed himself, before offering the victim. A pile of wood, composed of cedar, ash, fir, and branches of the fig-tree, was erected in the form of a tower, open towards the west, close by the bath. The victim was bound within this hollow pyre with a rope made of rushes, with her head towards the south, and her face towards the west. The sacrificing priest (who was usually the High priest) stood to the westward of the victim, slew her with his right hand, caught the blood with his left, and dipping in it the forefinger of his right hand sprinkled the blood seven times towards the Temple. He then wiped his hand on the body of the victim; and as he left the spot, fire was set to the pile.

While the body of the heifer was consuming, the High priest took cedar, hyssop, and scarlet wool, saying three times, 'This is cedar; this is hyssop; this is scarlet wool;' to which the assistants responded, 'It is so; it is so; it is so.' He then bound the cedar and hyssop together with the wool, and cast them into the flaming pyre. On the whole being consumed, the bones were collected from the ashes, pounded, sifted, and divided into three portions. Of these one was kept in the Chel, one in the Mount of Olives, and one was divided among the twenty-four courses of priests, for use throughout the country.

Consecrated by hereditary descent from the anointed High priest, Aaron, and purified from every ceremonial defilement, the priests performed the service of the Sanctuary at Jerusalem.

The account given in the Mishna applies to the service of the Second Temple; but the constant aim of the doctors of the law was to show that the order of their rites had been unchanged since the time of Moses. The services may be distinguished into *Tamid*, 'the Continual,' or the ritual of the daily sacrifice, of which the fullest details are given in the tract *Tamid*; the celebration of the various festivals and fasts, ordained in the law or commanded by the Senate; and the offering of the special sacrifices, for sin, for error, or for thanksgiving, of which the injunctions are contained in the Pentateuch, and the details are described in the Mishna.

By night the Temple was guarded and patrolled by three priests and twenty-one Levites, twenty-four in all; in accordance with the passage in the 1st Book of Chronicles (26. 13). The priests and Levites of the *Mishmar*, or course in function, slept within the precincts. There was a vaulted apartment, the *Beth Moked*, partly within and partly without the limits of the priests' court, in which the elder priests slept, with the keys of the gates in their charge. The younger priests slept on the floor, not in the linen vestments proper for the time of worship, but in their own attire. If a sentinel was found asleep by the prefect on his rounds, the torch-bearer of the patrol set fire to his garments, and he was further punished by beating.

The priest who was chosen to cleanse the altar, rose early, and bathed before the arrival of the prefect. It was the duty of this officer to arrive not always at the same hour; he came at, a little before, or after, the early cockcrow (cf. Mark 13. 35). It was forbidden to keep poultry in Jerusalem (*Baba Kama* 7. 7), and Maimonides says that the hour of cockcrow was called in the Temple by a priest, who cried in a loud voice, 'Let him who is bathed go forth.' The unlocking of the gates was performed in the presence of the 'Master of the House,' or prefect of the Temple.

Lots were cast in the first place for the distribution of the offices of the day. The priests formed in two bands, each of which was preceded by the bearer of a lighted torch. The door of the principal court was then unlocked. One turn, or band,

proceeded eastward, the other westward, walking around the exhedræ; and the two turns met at the chamber of the maker of the sacrificial cake, which adjoined the great eastern gate of the Sanctuary, called Nicanor.

The priest to whom it was allotted to cleanse the altar, first bathed his hands and feet with water from the laver. A silver thurible, or censer, was left at the foot of the ascent to the altar. The priest entered the court of the altar alone, and in silence, guiding his steps by the light of the fire on the altar. His movements were only made known by the sound of the wooden machine used for drawing water. He took the censer, ascended the altar, stirred the embers, collected the ashes, placed them in the thurible, and deposited them in the appointed place, at the foot of the *Cebesh*, or ascent to the altar.

The other priests then entered, and, after bathing their hands and feet, took shovels and forks and ascended the altar. They removed the remains of the victims, and collected the embers into a heap, which sometimes contained as much as 100 cubic yards. They then brought the wood, which consisted of fig wood, nut wood, and fir wood, and arranged it on the pile. The wood of the vine and of the olive were prohibited, on the ground, according to Rabbi Ache, of not diminishing the product of the land of Israel. The fig wood is explained by Bartenora to be that of the wild or sycamore fig tree (Luke 13. 6). The pyre was built with apertures like a door and windows. Maimonides says that two fires were always burning on the altar: the great one, in which the daily sacrifice was burned; and a smaller one, called the pile of incense, from which fire was taken in a shovel for the morning and evening incense offering.

The tract Yoma speaks of the lots drawn by the priests as four in number: the first for the decination of the altar, the second for slaying the sacrifice, the third for burning incense, and the fourth for carrying the remnants of the sacrifices back to the pyre. The sacrifice itself required thirteen priests for its performance, according to the statement of Maimonides. The third chapter of the tract Tamid describes the distribution of the lots, at the invitation of the prefect of the Temple, who

also directed the watcher appointed for the service to watch for the appearance of the dawn. When the man called out 'Light!' the priests in the court enquired, 'Does it illuminate the whole face of the east, as far as Hebron?' On receiving the reply, 'It is so,' they proceeded to the sacrifice. On one occasion (Yoma 3. 1) the priest was deceived by the light of the moon, and the sacrifice was slain before sunrise. When the error was discovered, it became necessary not only to slay another victim, but also to purify the priests from the legal defilement caused by the error.

Six lambs were always kept in a place set apart for the purpose within the Temple, ready for the sacrifice. Before being slaughtered, the selected victim was carefully examined to see that it had no blemish such as would invalidate the sacrifice. This examination was made by torchlight for the morning sacrifice. The priests then brought ninety-three gold and silver vessels from the chamber of vessels, for the service of the day; and gave water to the lamb from a golden cup. The place of slaughter was to the north of the altar; where, according to the treatise Shekalim, stood eight marble tables for sacrificial use. Every detail of the sacrifice is minutely described in the Mishna.

The priest designated by lot for the decination of the golden altar of incense entered the Holy House, which was unlocked by means of two keys. He carried in his hand the golden vase, called the *teni*, which would hold $2\frac{1}{2}$ eabs (a little over three quarts). This he placed on the ground before the altar. He then removed the ashes with his hand, placed them in the *teni*, swept and wiped the altar, and retired from the Holy House, leaving the vase on the floor.

The golden lamp (called the golden candlestick in the Authorised Version) was eighteen palms, or nearly 48 inches, high. A stone stood before it, having three steps, by which the priest, who entered the Temple for the purpose bearing the golden cup called the *Cos*, ascended to trim the lamps. If he found the two eastern lamps still burning, he left them alight, and trimmed the remaining five. Maimonides says that the

lamp nearest the veil was inscribed with the word 'one,' and the others in order; number seven being the eastward lamp. If numbers six and seven had burned out, the priest cleansed and trimmed the eastern lamps, and left numbers one and two until after the offering of the morning sacrifice. There is some difference of opinion as to the number of lamps that were kept continually alight. The wicks removed from the lamps were left in the *cos*, on the second stone step, until the morning sacrifice had been offered, and the whole of the lamps trimmed; and the *teni* and the *cos* were then removed from the Temple. There is a minute description given of the golden lamp in the 3rd book of the Antiquities of Josephus (6. 6, 7), but that of Maimonides is more closely in accordance with the Book of Exodus.

When the portions of the victim had been duly arranged on the altar, together with the sacrificial cake, and the wine; and salt had been put on the flesh, the priests assembled in the chamber Gazith for the Shema, or morning prayer, so called from commencing with the words 'Hear, O Israel' (Deut. 6. 4).

The prefect of the Temple first recited the benediction commencing with the words 'By love eternal,' the other priests responding. The 'Ten Words,' or the Commandments, were then read (during the time of the first, but not during the whole time of the second Temple). The disuse of the Ten Words was directed in order to discountenance the opinion of the Sadducees, to which this daily reading had given some apparent sanction, that these commands were the only laws which God gave to Moses on Mount Sinai. The reading of the 'Hear, O Israel,' which followed, was succeeded by a lesson from the Law, commencing 'And it shall be, if thou hearken' (Deut. 28. 1). Then followed the benedictory prayer: 'O Lord our God, may the service of thy people Israel, and the sacrifices of Israel, be acceptable to Thee. Mercifully accept our prayers. Blessed be He who hath pleasure in the service of His people Israel, because we serve Thee in Jerusalem.' The incense offering was then made; and was followed by the benediction of the priests, pronounced from the steps of the Temple porch. On the Sabbath a blessing on the outgoing course was added in the words,

‘ May He whose name dwelleth in this house cause among you love, brotherhood, peace, and friendship ! ’

The burning of the incense was the portion of the service of the Temple which was attended with the greatest feeling of awe. On the Day of Expiation, on which, and on which alone, the High priest entered within the veil to perform this rite, the greatest anxiety was felt for his safe return. In his notes on the tract *Yoma* (5. 1) Maimonides says that many High priests had died, in consequence of some failure in the due performance of the rite ; and the Mishna cited forbids the High priest to tarry long in prayer, lest he should alarm Israel. The injunctions in the Law (Exod. 30. 38) raised the fear that the smelling of incense by the priest might involve danger ; and the vessel in which it was taken to the altar was covered with a cloth as well as with a lid, to avoid this as far as possible. The function of burning incense on ordinary occasions was determined by lot among the *Hadashim*, or young priests, alone (*Tamid* 5. 5) ; as the blessing promised in the prayer of Moses was held especially to attach to this office (Deut. 33. 10, 11). Thus no priest was allowed to draw lots for this duty who had already discharged it, unless on an occasion when there were none present who had never so done.

The *kupha*, or vessel in which the incense was borne into the Temple, was a golden vase provided with a cover, and of the same capacity as the *teni*.

A rare Jewish coin in the British Museum (figured on Plate I.), gives the representation of a vase which corresponds to the description of the *kupha*. Only two of the vessels of the Sanctuary were provided with a lid ; namely, the *kupha* and the *teni*, both of which were used for the service of the incense altar. The figure in question is thus limited to one of these two vessels ; and the broad projecting lid would be suitable for supporting the cloth which covered the *kupha*. Within this vase was placed a patera, or dish, on which a handful of incense was put for the service. The priestly family of Abtines had the hereditary charge of making the incense, and also the hereditary secret of the use of a certain herb, by the mingling

of which with the other ingredients the smoke was caused to ascend 'in a column like a rod' (Yoma 5. 1). The details of the mixture are fully discussed by Maimonides (in Kerithoth 1. 1) and Rabbi Obadiah de Bartenora says (in Shekalim 4. 5) that 368 minæ were annually used; four for the use of the Day of Expiation, and one for every other day in the year. The *mina* in question contained twenty ounces troy.

The priest 'found worthy for the thurible' took a silver thurible, ascended the *cebesh* of the altar, and took pieces of hot charcoal from the fire, of which he put three eabs, or about a gallon, into the thurible (cf. Isaiah 6. 6). Descending to the base of the altar, he transferred three-fourths of this live fuel into a golden thurible. As he passed with this between the altar and the porch of the Temple, a large golden vessel called the *Pesacter* was struck, the sound of which was distinctly heard through all the courts. The priests and Levites arranged themselves in the prescribed order at this signal, and the prefect of the watch stationed the lepers, who came to be healed, at Nicanor, the eastern gate, that they might be sprinkled with the blood of the victim.

The priest in charge of the *teni* now re-entered the Holy House, placed the ashes in the vase, bowed towards the altar, and left the Temple. The priest who bore the *cox* in like manner completes the arrangement of the Golden Lamp. The third priest, with the thurible, then entered, poured out the live coals on the top of the golden altar, spread them over the surface with the extremity of the thurible, bowed, and left the Temple. The golden altar was 32 inches high and 16 inches square; and the quantity of embers taken was enough to cover the surface within the corona, or projecting rim, with rather more than 1 inch in thickness of live charcoal. The priest who bore the *kupha* was accompanied by him whose duty it was to remove, and by him who had to burn, the incense. The former took the patera from within the *kupha*; and if any incense was left in the latter, it was emptied, together with the contents of the patera, into the hand of the officiator. The prefect of the Temple gave the signal 'Burn!': when the High priest officiated, the prefect said, 'Lord

High priest, burn !' The incense was then spread from the hand over the whole surface of the lighted coals, the three priests bowed, and left the Temple. While the incense offering was being made, the whole company of priests (Luke 1. 21) retired from the space between the altar and the Temple.

On the completion of the incense offering, all the priests took their places on the steps of the Holy House; the five who had performed the functions within the Temple being on the left, bearing in their hands the five vessels, the *teni*, the *cos*, the thurible, the patera, and the *kupha*. They raised their hands above the head, and blessed the people with one voice, in the words, 'The Lord bless thee, and keep thee, the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.' On the Day of Expiation the High priest pronounced in this Benediction the sacred name, the *Tetragrammaton*, of which the sound is now lost. On all other occasions the word *Adonai*, LORD, was used instead.

To the Benediction succeeded the Canticle, or chant of the Levites. A special Psalm was proper to each day of the week, reference being thus made to the days of creation. On the first day the Psalm was (Ps. 24), 'The Earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof;' the reference being to the words, 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.' For the second day the Psalm (Ps. 48) was 'Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised, in the city of our God, in the mountain of his Holiness;' the reference being to the words, 'And God called the firmament, Heaven.' The Psalm for the third day was (Ps. 82), 'God standeth in the congregation of the mighty.' That for the fourth day (Ps. 94), 'O Lord God of vengeance.' That for the fifth day (Ps. 81), 'Sing aloud to God our strength.' The creation of man, on the sixth day, was honoured by the Psalm (Ps. 93), 'The Lord reigneth, he is clothed with majesty.' And on the seventh day was chanted the Psalm which still bears what in later times was called the rubrick, of 'a Psalm or Song for the Sabbath day' (Ps. 92), 'It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord;' a Psalm which, the Mishna adds, is to

be sung through all time, until the day when the Sabbath shall be unbroken, and rest shall be in eternal life.

During the chanting of the Psalm of the day, the prefect of the Temple stood by the south-west corner of the altar, with a linen cloth in his hand. Two Levites, with silver trumpets, stood by the marble table, on which the fat of the victims had been laid, with Ben Arsa, the hereditary player on the *Tsel-tsel* (a musical instrument of percussion), between them. Thrice in the Psalm the prefect waved his kerchief, the son of Arsa struck the *tzel-tzel*, and the Levites blew a long blast, a tremulous note, and a long blast; while the body of the priests bowed. The word 'Selah,' which occurs about sixty times in the present codices of the Psalms, is best explained as being a musical direction to the cymbal players and trumpeters to raise, or 'lift up,' the three blasts.

'This is the order,' the Mishna concludes, 'of the daily sacrifice, in the ministry of the Temple of God. To Him may it be well pleasing that it be speedily rebuilt in one of our own days. Amen!'

The tract Tamid does not refer to the variations between the morning and evening sacrifice, which must have chiefly consisted in the substitution of certain prayers. The evening sacrifice was ordinarily slain at the eighth and a half hour of the day, or half-past 2 p.m., and offered an hour later. On the Sabbath, it was slain an hour earlier. And if the Passover fell on the Sabbath, the evening sacrifice was slain half an hour after noon, and the first of the three Paschal lambs an hour after that.

The use of the silver trumpets in the services of the Temple was a matter of great importance in the ritual. The exact note that was sounded was matter of distinct prescription. (Rosh Hashanah 4. 9). 'They never sounded the trumpets,' says the Mishna (Succah 5. 5), 'less often than twenty-one times a day in the Temple: thrice at the opening of the gates; nine times at the morning sacrifice; and nine times at the evening burnt-offering. When additional offerings were brought, they blew nine times more. On the eve of the Sabbath they blew six times more; thrice to interdict the people from work, and

thrice to separate the holy day from the work day. On the eve of the Sabbath, during the Feast of Tabernacles, they blew forty-eight times: thrice at the opening of the gates, thrice at the upper gate, thrice at the lower gate, thrice at the water drawing, thrice over the altar, nine times at the morning sacrifice, nine times at the additional sacrifice for the day, nine times at the evening sacrifice, thrice to interdict the people from work, and thrice to separate the holy day from the work day.' If the eve of the Passover fell on the Sabbath (Bartenora on Erachin 2. 2) they blew fifty-seven times. The use of the other musical instruments in the service will be explained in another chapter.

On the Sabbath-day the only special addition to the daily service of the Temple was the offering of two additional victims, the sacrifices accumulating if a new moon, or any great festival, fell on the Sabbath. The law of the Sabbath also so far ruled the actions of the priests, that the ashes of the altar were not to be cast on that day into the sink, or canal, from which they could have been carried by running water beyond the precincts of the Temple. Even if one of the eight unclean reptiles were found within the courts, it was not to be removed until the following day, but covered with the *pesactur*, or large vessel before mentioned. But the kneading, forming, and baking the shew bread, though involving three separate offences against the Law, was to be performed on the Sabbath (Matthew 12. 5), although not the grinding or sifting of the flour.

Six days in the year came under the technical definition of Great Festivals, the regulations as to which very closely approached to those for the Sabbath-day. These were, the *Rosh Hashanah*, or Feast of Trumpets for the new year; the first and seventh days of the Passover; the Feast of Weeks, or day of Pentecost; and the first and eighth days of the Feast of Tabernacles. But the most rigorously observed of all solemnities was the Day of Atonement,—a great Fast which bore much the same relation to the six great Festivals that the Sabbath did to the other days of the week. The entire welfare of the whole nation, and of every individual member of the same, were held

to depend on the exact performance of the rites of that day; which not only had to be carried out by the High priest in person, but which further required a preliminary purification of the Pontiff himself for the space of seven days.

With regard to the Passover, the special observance of the family rite, which is incumbent on all Israelites, within or without the Holy Land, was distinct from the services of the Temple. On the appointed day the devout worshippers began to fill the Temple courts soon after midnight, in anticipation of the morning sacrifice, and of the addition of the day. The evening sacrifice was slain half an hour after noon. This was followed by three several sacrifices of a paschal lamb, in obedience to the words of the Law (Exod 12. 6), translated 'assembly,' 'congregation,' and 'Israel.' When the inner court was full, the gates were shut. The priests stood in rows; one row holding golden, the other silver, basins, made without feet or rests, to prevent their being set down, and thus allowing the blood to coagulate. An Israelite slew the victim. A priest caught its blood in a basin; and the vessels were exchanged from hand to hand until the priest nearest to the altar cast the blood on the foundation of that structure. When the sacrifice was completed, a second, and in due time a third, company of worshippers were admitted into the court; the first band remaining within the precincts of the mountain of the House, and the second within the boundary called the *Chel* (which surrounded the Court of the Women) until the last sacrifice had been offered. The hymn sung (Mark 14. 26) after each sacrifice consisted of the 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, and 136th Psalms. At nightfall the three bands of worshippers went forth together, and each man ate the Passover in the place which he had prepared for the purpose within the walls of Jerusalem.

The Paschal Feast is distinguished in the Mishna as including the Pasque of Egypt and the Secular Pasque. The former consists in the lamb, to be eaten in haste, and of which no fragments are to be left unconsumed. The injunctions of the Pentateuch as to this rule are carried out far more literally by the Samaritans than by the Jews. The Secular Pasque is the

eating unleavened bread, involving the banishment of leaven from every house for a week. The preparation of the Passover superseded the Sabbath. Not less than four cups of wine were to be drunk during the supper. Over the first cup was said the benediction proper to the day, and also that proper to the cup : 'Blessed be He who created the fruit of the vine.' When the second cup was filled, the son was taught to enquire of his father the order and meaning of the rite ; and the section of the Law, 'A Syrian ready to perish was my father' (Deut. 26. 5) was read. The lamb was explained to be in commemoration of the death of the first-born of the Egyptians, and of the escape of the first-born of Israel ; the bitter herbs which accompanied it were in memory of the Egyptian bondage ; the unleavened bread in memory of the hasty flight. The 'Praise ye the Lord' was then said, from the beginning of the 111th to the end of the 114th Psalm. The benediction on the table was uttered at the filling of the third cup ; which was thus designated, although between the second and the third it was lawful to drink at pleasure. The fourth and last cup was filled at the close of the hymn. The 'cup of blessing' is the cup, at this as at any other meal, over which the benediction of the Creator of the fruit of the vine is said ; that is to say, the first cup. The paschal supper is not in abeyance during the absence of the Jews from Palestine. It is eaten at sunset on the 14th of Nisan, the feast of unleavened bread lasting to the 21st inclusive. The offering of the first-fruits was made in the Temple on the 15th, if not a Sabbath.

The feast called that of Harvest (Exod. 23. 16), of Weeks (Deut. 16. 6), or of Pentecost, is directed to be held fifty days after the wave offering, or day of first-fruits. A question arose between the Pharisees and the Sadducees whether the word 'Sabbath' in the precept denotes the first day of the festival, or the weekly sabbath. The Sadducees, rejecting the traditional exposition, maintained that the latter was the case ; and that the Day of First Fruits and that of Pentecost were both to be celebrated on the first day of the week. The prevalence of the custom of the Sadducees at the time of the Crucifixion is attested

by the celebration of the day of Pentecost on Sunday by the Christian Church, ever since that time. The festival was for one day only. The High priest then wore his golden robes; and the proper sacrifices of the day were offered in the Temple. The offering of money made by those who came to Jerusalem for the feast might be made on any day in the week following the festival. The least offering that was legal at either of the three great annual feasts was three *maim*, each of which in silver, contained the weight of an English silver twopenny-piece of the reign of George III. The victims offered for the fixed rite of the day were twenty-six; and thirty blasts were blown on the trumpets.

The Feast of Tabernacles, the precepts concerning which are detailed in the tract *Succah*, lasted from nightfall on the 14th, to nightfall on the 22nd, of *Tisri* or *Ethanim*, being a day longer than the Feast of the Passover. During this time every male adult Israelite, being in health, was bound to sleep and take his meals in a booth made of vegetable substances, and not less than 7 palms square by 10 palms high. Branches of palm, myrtle, and willow were borne by the people during the Feast of Tabernacles. The *lulab*, which was a young palm branch, the top of which spread like the top of a sceptre, and an *ethrog* or a citron, was carried on each day of the feast, except the Sabbath, as the ceremony of bearing these branches was subordinate to the law of the Sabbath. The *lulab* and the *ethrog* are represented on some of the coins.

The ceremony of pouring water during the Feast of Tabernacles is in accordance with one of the precepts distinguished as the 'Constitutions of Moses from Mount Sinai,' and is referred to in the Psalms and the Prophets (Isaiah 12. 3). A golden vase, which would hold three *logs*, or two pints, of water, was filled at the Fountain of Siloah, and borne with solemn rejoicings into the Temple. The silver trumpets and the shopphars, or cornets, were sounded on the occasion as before described. Two silver basins were placed by the altar, perforated at the base, and covering two apertures in the marble pavement. Water was poured into the eastward, and wine

to the westward, basin ; the priest being enjoined to raise his hands high, that the people might see the pouring of the water. The Sadducees disregarded the ceremonial, as not ordained in the Pentateuch ; and on one occasion a Sadducee priest who poured the water over his feet is said to have been pelted to death by the people with their citrons. Pipes were sounded throughout the festival, except on the first and eighth days, and on the Sabbath.

At the close of the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, great rejoicings were made in the Women's Court of the Temple. A golden candelabrum with four branches was there erected ; steps were placed by each branch, and four young priests, selected from the flower of the sacerdotal order, poured, into the receptacle supported by each branch, oil from a vessel containing 130 logs, or nearly eleven English gallons. The old girdles and other sacred vestments of the priests were torn into shreds, and used as wicks for these large vessels of oil ; and the whole city was illumined by the light. Men selected for the purpose danced before the people with lighted torches in their hands, singing the appropriate hymns. The Levites stood on the fifteen steps ascending from the Court of the Women (to which the fifteen Psalms of Degrees were arranged to correspond), with trumpets, cymbals, kinnurs, nebel, and other instruments of music, and accompanied the chant of the priests. Two priests stood at the upper gate of the Court of Israel, with trumpets in their hands. At cockcrow, they sounded thrice ; descending to the tenth step, they blew thrice ; on arriving at the level of the second court, they blew thrice. Thence they marched, sounding as they went, to the eastern gate. Then they turned their backs to the East, facing towards the Holy House, and recited the Confession, 'Our fathers, in this place, turned their backs to the Temple, and their faces to the East, and bowed to the rising sun (cf. Ezek. 8. 16) ; but as for us, our eyes are to the Lord our God.'

During the Feast of Tabernacles all the 24 *Mishmaroth* of the priests (Succah 5. 7) were engaged in the services of the Temple. Each victim was offered by a separate band of priests.

The thirteen bullocks, two lambs, and one goat, which formed the additional sacrifices of the first day, were offered by 16 out of the 24 bands, and the remaining 14 lambs were offered by the remaining 8 bands. On the 8th day of the festival lots were again cast for the distribution of the sacerdotal functions, as on other great festivals. This equal service of the entire priesthood occurred at each of the three annual festivals, when each Israelite, Levite, and priest was bound to come up to Jerusalem. When a great feast fell on the day preceding or following the weekly Sabbath, all the orders had equal shares in the distribution of the shew bread.

On the third day of the month Tisri or Ethanim, according to the treatise Yomah, the High priest took up his residence in the chamber of the Temple called *Palhedrin*. During the ensuing week he personally took part in each daily sacrifice. He cast the blood of the victims on the foundation of the altar; he trimmed and fed the golden lamp of the sanctuary; and he burned the morning and evening incense: the object of this duty being to familiarize him with every detail of the service, so as to prevent any hesitation or error in the performances of the rites of the great day. When the High priest performed these duties for the first time, it was the duty of the Elders of the Sanhedrin to instruct him in all the details of the rite, and to read to him the order of the ritual. During the seven days of purification he was not to fast; but after sunset on the 9th of Tisri he was not allowed to eat meat lest he should be the more disposed to slumber. During that night (between the 9th and 10th) he was not allowed to sleep. He was to read, or have read to him, portions of the Books of Job, Ezra, or Chronicles. If he appeared drowsy, the younger priests were instructed to touch him with a finger, and to say, 'Lord High priest, rise, and stand on the pavement!' He was thus watched till the time arrived for offering the morning sacrifice.

The altar, on the Day of Expiation, was cleansed and set in order immediately after midnight. By cockcrow the courts of the Temple were full of worshippers. A linen veil was hung before the *Beth Happarvah*, or place of the High priest's bath,

to screen the Pontiff from the view of the other priests during the five total immersions which he had to undergo in the course of the rites of the day. After the first immersion, the golden garments, and the crown or mitre plate (see p. 193) which (8 Ant. 3. 8) had been worn by every Pontiff since the time of Aaron, were put on by him ; water was poured over his hands and feet ; and he slew the morning victim. He threw the blood on the altar, entered the Temple, burned incense, trimmed the golden lamp, came back to the great altar, and offered the head and limbs of the victim, the wine, and the sacrificial cake, himself. He was then conducted back to the *Beth Happarvah*, again washed hands and feet, took off the golden robes, immersed himself for the second time, came out and put on the four white linen garments of the ordinary priest, and again sanctified, or bathed hands and feet.

The High priest then proceeded to the space between the altar and the Temple, whither the bullock for his special sacrifice was brought. The Pontiff laid both hands on the victim, and prayed thus : ' I confess, O Lord, that I have failed : I have rebelled and sinned against Thee, I and my house : I beseech thee, O Lord, pardon my trespasses, and rebellion, and sins, which I have committed, I and my house before Thee, as it is written in the law of Moses thy servant.' The priests responded, ' Blessed be the glorious name of His Kingdom for ever and ever.'

The High priest then went to the north of the altar, and the western part of the altar court. Two goats were there, and a golden urn, in which were two dies of boxwood for the lots, one inscribed with the Divine Name, and the other with the word *Azazel*. The High priest put his hands into the urn, and drew out a lot in each, the position of the goats indicating which belonged to either lot. The Pontiff raised the hand which held the better lot, that of sacrifice, and it was held to be a happy omen when the ' Name,' as the first lot was called, was held in the right hand. The priests responded to his act by the benediction, as before.

A line of scarlet wool was bound to the head of the goat,

thus designated as the Emissary, or Scape Goat, and the animal was led to the spot whence it was to be conducted out of the Temple. Another thread was bound round the throat of the goat that was to be slain. The High priest then returned to the spot where the bullock stood, and again prayed, making special mention of the people of Aaron, or body of the priesthood, and pleading the promise that the rite of that day should purify the whole people from their sins. The priests again responded with the 'Blessed be the Name of the Lord.'

The High priest then himself slew the bullock, and caught the blood in a basin, which was handed to a priest who kept it in constant movement to prevent coagulation. The Pontiff next ascended the altar, carrying a golden thurible, which would hold three eabs, which he filled with hot embers, and brought down to the court. The *kupha* was brought, and with the golden thurible in the right hand, and the *kupha*, filled with incense, in his left, the High priest entered the Temple alone. He advanced to the double veil, composed of two curtains which hung, a cubit apart, between the Temple and the Oracle, or Most Holy Place. The opening of the outer curtain was on the north, that of the inner curtain on the south, so that no glimpse of the Most Holy Place could be visible in the Temple. The High priest entered within the veil, turned to his right, entered within the second veil, turned to his left, and came to the *Eben Shatiyah*, or Foundation Stone, on which in the first Temple, the Ark stood. In the time of the first Temple the High priest set down the thurible between the staves of the ark. In the second Temple, he placed it on the Foundation Stone. He threw the incense on the embers, until the whole place was filled with the smoke, bowed reverently, and retreated backwards from the spot. On retiring without the veil he uttered a short prayer; but he was warned not to tarry in the Temple, even to pray, lest the priests should be alarmed at the delay. So much awe attended this rite, that it was always a matter of fear that the High priest would not survive its solemnisation. The Pontiff then took the golden basin containing the blood of the bullock from the priest who held it, and returned a second time to the

Most Holy Place. Dipping his finger in the blood, he sprinkled it once upwards, and seven times downwards, fixing his eyes on the ground, and counting aloud. He then withdrew as before, and left the vessel on a golden pillar in the outer Temple.

The goat was then brought to the place of slaughter, and slain by the High priest, and the same ceremonial was gone through with its blood as that which had been performed with that of the bullock. The remaining blood of the two victims was then mingled in the same vessel. The High priest then cleansed the golden altar of incense, which stood without the veil, sprinkled the mingled blood seven times on it, and threw the remainder at the foot of the great altar, on the south side, where there was an opening in the pavement, leading to a subterranean channel to the Kedron. He then returned to the scape goat, laid both hands on it, and repeated the prayer offered over the victims. On this occasion he uttered in the prayer the Divine Name, at the sound of which priests and people fell on their faces, and responded as before. So much dread accompanied this utterance that Rabbi Akiba said, that it was rather a sound than a name. The scape goat was then led forth over the bridge, and passed on from one conductor to another; huts having been fixed at ten stations along the road from Jerusalem to the mountain called Tzuk, where the animal was released, so that each conductor should only travel with the goat for a distance within the limit of the Sabbath day's journey of 888 yards. The High priest then offered on the altar the proper portions of the bullock and the goat, and the remainder was carried out from the Temple, and burned in the appointed place without the city walls.

The Pontiff then proceeded to the Court of the Women, to read the sections of the Law appointed for the day. He read, standing, the two sections '*Akhari moth*' (Levit. 16) and '*Ac bi Asor*' (Levit. 23. 27), and then, closing the roll, placed it on his breast, adding 'There is more here than I have read before you.' He then recited the '*bi Asor*' (Numbers 29. 7-11), and pronounced the Eight benedictions, on the Law, the Ministry,

the Confession, the Remission of sins, the Sanctuary, Israel, the Priests, and the Remainder of the service.

The reading of the Law might be performed either in the linen garments, or in the pontifical robes. Having assumed the latter, whether before or after the ceremony, after a third immersion, and with the customary ablutions, the High priest then offered the ram for himself, the ram for the people, and the two yearling lambs. He then bathed for the fourth time, put on white linen robes, and offered the evening incense in the Most Holy Place, with the *thurible* and *kapha*, as the morning. Leaving these vessels in the Temple, he bathed for the last time, put on his golden robes, returned to the Temple, offered the ordinary evening incense on the golden altar, trimmed the golden lamp, and completed the services of the day by the tenth ablution of his hands and feet. He then resumed his ordinary attire; and was accompanied to his own house by his friends, for whom a feast was prepared in celebration of the happy completion of the rite of the day.

The intelligence of the liberation of the scape goat was conveyed to Jerusalem by the waving of kerchiefs from station to station. On one occasion the animal made its way back to the city,—an event which struck such consternation that it was afterwards the custom to push the goat over the precipitous side of the hill where it was set free, so that it broke its neck or limbs before reaching the bottom. The site of the precipice in question has been recovered, on a mountain in the Judean desert, west of the Dead Sea. The name *Tzuk* still lingers close by, at an ancient well by the old high road from Jerusalem, at the required distance a little over six miles (or about 12 *Tehum*) from the city.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE HEBREWS

THE rule and government of the Hebrew people, as laid down by its great Lawgiver, were, above all things, hierocratic. With the exception of the space occupied by the majestic figure of Moses, the High priesthood is represented as the culminating dignity of the entire Law, so far as we find it uttered in the earlier part of the Pentateuch, or carried out in the first five centuries of Jewish history. But while first in dignity, the High priest was not always the supreme judge. The Hebrew Senate, or Sanhedrin, of which we learn the regulations from the important Mishnic treatise of that name, was presided over by a Prince, President, or Nasi, who sometimes was, and sometimes was not, at the same time High priest. A third functionary, who is also mentioned in the Talmud, was the Chief of the Fathers. Personal weight may, from time to time, have varied the relative importance ascribed to the holders of these distinct functions. Their origin is traditionally traced back to Mount Sinai itself; and the summons of seventy of the Elders of Israel to come unto the Lord (Exod. 24. 1) is appealed to as the *Magna Charta* of the Sanhedrin. Of the Nasiim of the tribes, or 'phyllarchs,' 'men of name' (Numb. 1. 16), we hear more in the Pentateuch than we do in the Mishna. The division of the kingdom probably tended to make the representation of the nation by the Senate, to a great extent, replace any purely tribal organisation. The Judges in the time before the Monarchy, like the Presidents of the Sanhedrin in later times, were sometimes High priests, as was Eli, and sometimes men of various tribes, as Gideon in later times. Simon the Just was High priest and

Nasi, or president of the senate; Antigonus the Sochean being at that time Chief of the Fathers. Simon was succeeded as High priest by his brother Eleasar, and as President by Rabbi Jose ben Jo eser.

The power given to the priesthood, not for ritual purposes alone, but also for those of government, is remarkably illustrated by the institution of the war priest, or *Sacerdos unctus ad bellum* (Sotah 8. 1), referred to in Deuteronomy (20. 2). Maimonides writes:—‘In time of war they appointed a priest who should speak to the people in war, and they anointed him with the oil of unction. This is he who is called the Messiah Milchama.’¹ The presence of the sons of Eli with the Ark in the field is consistent with this account of the war priest. The differences cited between the priest who was anointed with the oil of unction, and him who was clad with many garments (that is to say, with the eight sacred garments prescribed for Aaron), is said by both Maimonides and Bartenora (Megillah 1. 9) to refer to the fact, that the sacred oil prepared by Moses was exhausted by the reign of Josiah; and that as it was held to be unlawful to reproduce any like it, neither king nor priest has been anointed since that date.

The election of a king, in the 476th year after the Exodus, was sanctioned by oracle (1 Sam. 8. 7), although denounced by the prophet Samuel as the rejection of the Theocracy. The ‘manner of the kingdom’ was then prescribed, written in the book, and laid up before the Lord. In the Book of Deuteronomy (17. 14–20) are found certain laws to regulate the regal function. The description of the royal power and dignity which is contained in the treatise Sanhedrin is said by Maimonides in his commentary on the passage, to refer to the kings of the third, or Idumæan, dynasty (who were unlearned in the Law). From the charge given by the prophet Jeremiah (21. 12) it is inferred that the kings of the House of David were members of the Sanhedrin.

The dignity of the King, according to the Mishna, had thirty

¹ *Hilchoth Melachin Umilchama*, ch. 7.

grades, while that of the priest had but twenty-four (Aboth 11. 5). The eighth chapter of the First Book of Samuel is referred to as the authority for the first statement. The King, according to the treatise Sanhedrin, neither judged nor was judged. He did not bear witness, nor was witness to be borne against him. He was not subject to the duty of marrying the widow of his brother, nor was his own widow allowed to remarry beneath her rank. He was not even allowed to marry a widow, unless it were the widow of a king, as to which David (2 Sam. 12. 8) was cited as an example. When any of his near relatives died, he was not to leave the palace. On the funeral feast for a king the whole people were to sit on the ground, the king's successor alone on a seat.

In time of war the King intervened in the council of the senate. He was sole general. He might select what he chose from the spoil, not exceeding the half. The legal number of his wives was restricted to 18. He was not to keep a large number of horses for display (Deut. 17. 16), although the caution did not apply to cavalry for military service. He was not to accumulate gold or silver beyond what was required for the payment of his servants and for the business of the kingdom. He was to write a copy of the book of the Law, which was to be his constant companion. No one might ride his horse. No one might sit on his throne. No one might use his staff. He was to shave and wash in private. It appears from the tract Sabbath (10. 4) that the command of the King in certain cases superseded the Law of the Sabbath; Rabbi Judah objected to the carriage of letters by the royal runners, or messengers, on that day, but Maimonides says that the decision was against R. Judah. This explains the conduct of David, and that of the High priest Ahimelech (1 Sam. 21. 2; cf. Matt. 12. 8). The aim of the entire code of rules was the maintenance of the royal dignity in the sight of the people.

On one occasion only, except on the occasion of his unction or coronation, the King took an officiating part in the rites of public worship. No one but a king of the House of David was allowed to sit within the Inner Court of the Temple. It is

an example of the curious irregularity with which the Mishnaioth have been arranged in tracts, that the account of this ceremonial is not to be found within the tract Sanhedrin, which treats of the royal dignity, or in the tract Succoth, which treats of the Feast of Tabernacles, but in Sotah (7. s), the treatise as to the administration of the Water of Jealousy. At the close of the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, in the Sabbatic year, a tribune having been erected in the Temple court, the King was seated there, the Khatsan brought forth the book of the Law, and handed it to the Head of the congregation, the latter handed it to the Sagan, or deputy High priest; the Sagan to the Pontiff, the Pontiff to the King. The King rose to receive the roll, and then sat to read the appointed lesson, which was from the beginning of the Book of Deuteronomy to chapter 6. v. 4, followed by six other lessons from the same book. He concluded by himself giving the benedictions, which on other occasions were uttered by the High priest.

After the High priest, and the Messiah Milchama (if appointed) ranked the Sagan, or vice High priest. If on any occasion the High priest was incapacitated for performing his functions, as occurred in the case of Matthias the son of Theophilus, on the Day of Expiation in the year of the Nativity (17 Ant. 6. 4), when he was represented by Josephus the son of Ellemus, the Sagan was his substitute. Next to the Sagan were two priests, called Kethilukin, or Catholociani, the meaning of which name is obscure. They were succeeded in dignity by the Amercal, or prefect of the Amercalim; a word translated by the title Chamberlain. The Amercal was the priest in charge of the keys of the Temple gates, and his function so far corresponded to that of the High Chamberlain at an Imperial or royal court, a great officer whose badge of dignity is a golden key. Next to the Amercal, according to Maimonides, ranked the Prefect of the Treasury; then the Prefect of the Guard; the Prefect of the Fathers; and, lastly, the Gregarian, or ordinary priests, called the *laos* in St. Luke's Gospel (1. 21). Under the Amercal were seven prefects of the gates. The treasurers, or Pubethim, are said in the treatise Shekalim to be not fewer

than three. It is not clear whether they were different officers from the Kethilukin, of whom only two are mentioned in the Tosaphtha. Under the prefect of the guard, 3 priests and 21 Levites kept nightly watch in the Temple precincts; and we may catch the echo of the tread of the prefect in his nightly rounds, and the response of the vigil, in the 134th Psalm. The Prefect of the Fathers probably had the command of the fifteen prefects, who are mentioned in the treatise Shekalim (5. 1), where the name of some ancient priest is associated with each function. These included the prefects of the vigils, of the offerings, of the lots, of the turtle doves, of the sick among the priests, and of the fountains and water channels. To these had to be added the crier, who announced the time of cockerow; the priest responsible for closing the gates; and the prefect of flagellation, or provost marshal. There were also distinguished the hereditary office of the player of the *tsel-tsel*, or cymbals, the chief of the singers, the maker of the sacrificial cakes, the maker of the incense, the guardian of the veils, and the keeper of the vestments.

The High priest judged, and was liable to be judged. He bore testimony, and testimony might be borne against him. He was not to marry a widow. He might not follow in a funeral. The Sagan was to interpose between the Pontiff and the people. If the High priest had to mourn, the people called out 'We lament with thee.' He replied, 'Blessed be ye from heaven.' If he gave a funeral feast, the guests sat on the ground, the Pontiff on a low stool.

The Great Sanhedrin consisted of 71 judges. The cases of an idolatrous tribe, of an accused High priest, or of a questioned false prophet, were reserved for the decision of this tribunal. War was not to be commenced without its authority. The limits of the city or of the courts of the Temple could only be enlarged by this Senate. The provincial courts, of which Josephus (in 1 Wars 8. 5) mentions five, were appointed by the Great Sanhedrin. No city could be condemned for idolatry without this authority. The Great Sanhedrin sat in the chamber of hewn stone (Gazith), within the court of the

Temple.¹ It was expelled thence, by the Roman authority, and lost its capital jurisdiction, 40 years before the overthrow of the Temple, or just before the date of the Crucifixion. There is no account given of the interference of the Roman procurators with any other court, before the outbreak of the war, or with the exercise of capital punishment by the Jewish magistrates, except for the above offences, which were reserved for the judgment of the Senate, but as to which the Roman authority was profoundly indifferent.

The Bethdin, or smaller Sanhedrin, consisted of 23 judges. Capital crimes, which were 36 in number, were decided on by this court, with the exception of those above specified. The arrangement of the benches for the judges was circular, so that they could see one another's faces. Two scribes stood before them, on the right hand and on the left, who wrote down the sentence of acquittal or of condemnation. The witnesses were cautioned by the judges before giving evidence, and warned that the blood of the culprit would lie on their heads if they gave false testimony. Special rules are given in the tract Sanhedrin for the examination of the witnesses, at first apart, and afterwards confronted with each other. If, after the witnesses were heard, the judges differed in opinion, the decision of the majority was limited by certain rules. If twelve were for acquittal, and eleven for condemnation, the defendant was set free. If eleven were for acquittal and twelve for condemnation, two other judges were added; and in case of need the number was successively increased to 71, so as to obtain a majority of two. A judge who had voted for condemnation might reverse his vote, but not one who had voted for acquittal.

Witness was not accepted from gamblers, usurers, pigeon breeders, or those who traded in, or who eat, the fruits of the seventh year. The evidence of relatives and enemies was also unacceptable. The former included the brother, the father's or mother's brother, the husband of a sister or of the father's or mother's sister, the step-father, the father-in-law, the wife's

¹ *Midd* 5. 3; *Maimonides in Maccoth*, 1. 10. See p. 380.

sister's husband, with his sons and kinsfolk, or the step-son. A friend was defined to be such a person as a groomsman. An enemy one to whom the persons concerned had not spoken for three days, on the ground of hatred.

Capital punishment was inflicted by four different methods; namely, lapidation, burning, slaying with the sword, and strangulation. Lapidation, the most disgraceful of these inflictions, was inflicted for 16 crimes, specified in the treatise Sanhedrin, including blasphemy, idolatry, witchcraft, and the breach of the Sabbath. Burning was limited to two particular cases of infringement of the Seventh Commandment. "The homicide, and the inhabitants of a city given over to idolatry, were to be punished by the sword; which was also the only capital penalty that it was in the power of the king to inflict. Strangulation was the punishment for striking father or mother, for kidnapping, for the elder who disobeyed the edict of the Senate, for the false prophet, or him who prophesied in the name of an idol and for simple breaches of the Seventh Commandment.

Special provisions apply to the case of the refractory elder. Three tribunals existed, which successively took cognisance of this offence. Of these the first sat at the gate of the mountain of the House; the second at the gate of the Court of the Women; the third in the chamber of hewn stone. These correspond to the three grades of judicial decision, by 3, by 21, and by 71 judges. An elder accused of false teaching, if thought guilty by the first court, was sent on by him to the second, and similarly by the second to the third. If, after condemnation, he continued to maintain his opinion verbally, he was not punished; but if he carried it out in action he was subject to the penalty of the law.

A Jew was not held to be guilty of blasphemy, unless he uttered the *Tetragrammaton*, or Sacred Name. In the examination of the witnesses, that name was not to be pronounced, unless the evidence was so conclusive that it was necessary to dispel any doubt. The eldest witness was then told 'Say exactly what you heard.' If he then uttered the forbidden word,

the judges, who stood erect, rent their garments, which were not, in that case, to be mended (cf. Matt. 26. 65). The second and the third witnesses then said, 'I heard the same as he.'

The place of execution was always at some distance from the place of judgment. An officer of the court stood at the door of the tribunal with a kerchief in his hand, and a man on horseback rode to and fro between the court and the place of execution. If at any moment before the sentence took place a witness in favour of the criminal reached the court, the kerchief was waved, and the prisoner was brought back for re-hearing. Even if the prisoner asserted that he could produce evidence in his favour, delay was awarded, if he gave any kind of proof. When arrived within ten cubits of the place of punishment, the culprit was urged to confess (Josh. 7. 19), the meaning of the institution being, that confession being made, and punishment inflicted, the Law was satisfied, and the future life and happiness of the offender were secure. At a distance of four cubits from the place of punishment, the clothes of the criminal were taken off. The place itself was elevated to about the height of two men. One of the witnesses pushed the criminal over, so that he might fall on his loins. If he was killed by the fall it was enough, if not, the other witness had to cast a stone on his breast, and if death did not ensue, 'all Israel,' that is to say, the bystanders, had to aid in the lapidation (Deut. 17. 7). If the execution took place for blasphemy or for idolatry, the culprit was then hung upon a tree (Deut. 21. 23), but the body was not honoured by the rites of interment. Two tombs were appointed by the Senate; one for the remains of criminals who had been stoned or burned, the other for those killed by sword or halter. After the flesh had perished in these repositories, the bones were removed to private sepulchres. The relatives of the criminal might lament, but not with a loud cry.

The account given (Sanhedrin 7. 2) of the infliction of the punishment of burning is so utterly repulsive that we avoid its reproduction, even under the veil of a foreign tongue, and refer those who wish for particulars to the treatise above cited. As to strangulation, the provision that a soft piece of linen should

be put round the hard cord used for the purpose, cannot be called a very material alleviation of the punishment, if, indeed, it was not a provision expressly introduced to make sure of the actual strangulation.

Pecuniary questions were decided by three judges; to be one of whom it was necessary to be either a priest, a Levite, or an Israelite of sufficient standing to be able to marry the daughter of a priest. Under the head of pecuniary questions are grouped together what we regard as criminal and as civil questions. Three tracts on these subjects, called the First, the Middle, and the Last Gate, precede the tract Sanhedrin in the order *Nezikin* of the Mishna, which contains the greater part of the judiciary institutions of the Jews. Those who wish to learn what are offences of the hand, and what offences of the foot, will find them clearly detailed in the three tracts in question.

The treatise *Sanhedrin*, which contains the law as to capital punishment, is followed by the tract *Maccoth*, which deals with crimes incurring minor penalties. Of these the first is false witness, which is only a capital crime if it leads to the execution of the person accused. The punishment of exile for the unintentional homicide is here discussed. Some *Mishnaioth* are devoted to the definition of those who are to be beaten. The number of stripes adjudged must be divisible by three. In certain cases, a portion of the sentence was inflicted, and after the wounds had healed, the remainder. The blows were to be given between the shoulders by a scourge made of four folds of a leathern strap. The culprit was tied by both hands to a column, and the lictor stood behind him on a stone, holding the scourge, of which the handle was to be a palm long, in one hand. A crier called out aloud the 58th and 59th verses of the 28th chapter of Deuteronomy, and then the 1st and 2nd verses of the same chapter. If the culprit died under the lash the lictor was blameless, unless the scourge were not of the correct size. In that case the lictor was exiled.

Any criminal who had committed a capital offence, and suffered scourging in consequence, was free from the heavier

penalty. And this applied, not to the legal infliction of the sentence alone, but to the remission of that Divine vengeance which was held to apply to crime actually committed, but as to which the necessary legal proof, by the accord of the witnesses produced, was not forthcoming. The tract Shebuoth (1. 6) explains that for all wilful sin, or impurity in the Sanctuary and holy things, the blood of the goat that is sprinkled within the veil and the Day of Expiation atone. For all other transgressions the emissary, or scape goat, makes expiation. For offences against a brother, compensation had to be made and pardon asked (Baba Kama 8. 71). If the offended party died before this had been done, pardon had to be asked at his grave. But the treatise Sanhedrin concludes with the affirmation, that every Israelite is the heir of eternal life, with the exception of those who deny the resurrection of the dead, those who deny that the Law was given from heaven, and the Epicureans. Rabbi Akiba adds those who read foreign books; and Abba Schaul, those who pronounce the Sacred Name according to its letters.

The Sacerdotal order of the Hebrew Government endured without material change, so far as can be ascertained, for nearly 490 years, or ten periods of Jubilee, from the Exodus. The respective prominence of either the High priest himself, of the prophet, or of the judge, whose names are recorded in the historic books, appears very greatly to have depended on the personal qualities of the individuals. A sort of double headship was continued after the decease of the great legislator who was 'Of Jeshurun king' (Deut. 33. 5). The word Rosh, which is used a little later in this verse, whether it applies to the members of the Sanhedrin, or to the phyllarchs, or chiefs of the tribes, is frequently repeated in Jewish history in the sense of prince. In the Book of Numbers (2. 3 et seq.), the phyllarchs are denoted under the title of Nasi, which was borne by Simôn III., (as appears from the coins), as the equivalent of the word Ethnarch; which is applied to this Pontiff by Josephus, and which was used by Archelaus on his coins. The word Sar is applied to the 'captain of the Lord's host,' in the Book of

Joshua (5. 14). The Shuphethim, or Judges, are called by Gesenius 'leaders and magistrates,' and the word *suffetes*, applied to the chief magistrates of the Carthaginians (who were an Aramaic speaking people), is identified by that respectable authority with the Hebrew word translated Judges. Abimelech, the son of Gideon, is called King; and Jephthah is styled Katzîn; a word which, from its root, has probably a true military signification; as the word 'captain' is used, in its highest sense, amongst ourselves. These various indications of minor changes in the distribution of the executive power appears to be in harmony with the original institutions of the Hebrews. *The first instance of profound modification occurred in the old age of Samuel; and although the 'manner of the kingdom' was ordered by that great priest, his own disapproval of the change is most distinctly recorded (1 Sam. 10. 25; cf. 12. 17). The exact year of the anointing of Saul is not positively stated, as forty years is allotted to the successive or joint rule of Samuel and Saul. Josephus, indeed, makes the reign of Saul extend for eighteen years during the lifetime of Samuel, and for twenty-two years after his death; but that distribution allows no time, as compared with the clear determination of the same period of the history, for the independent rule of Samuel. The commencement of the reign of Saul is distinctly attributed (1 Sam. 13. 1) to the first year of the week, and the most probable date thus falls in An. Sac. 3745. That there had been, however, some breach or disturbance in the sacerdotal succession, even before the sudden and coincident deaths of Eli and his two sons, is proved by the reference (1 Chron. 24. 3) to Zadoc, who was made High priest by Solomon, as being of the sons of Eleasar; while Abiathar, whom that king thrust out, (1 Kings 2. 27), being a descendant of Ahimelech, and thus of Eli, was (1 Chron. 24. 3) of the sons of Ithamar. The contention of the Samaritans that Eli was a heretic High priest is so far supported by these passages of the Bible, that it is clear that some interruption of the succession of the sons of Eleasar must have preceded the pontificate of Eli. A change in the place of the Tabernacle, or religious centre of the people, is stated

in the Mishna twice to have occurred within the period of sacerdotal rule; but it does not seem as if this statement was founded on any information other than is to be derived from references to the several spots named in the Bible. The allocation of 14 years to the maintenance of the Tabernacle at Gilgal, 369 to its maintenance at Shiloh, and 57 to that at Nob and Gibeon, which are the periods given by the Mishna, leaves 10 years unaccounted for between the crossing of the Jordan and the death of Saul, and 17 years between the former date and that of the capture of Jerusalem by David. (See page 276.)

With the overthrow and slaughter of Saul, in the Sabbatic week which completed the period of seventy weeks of years, or ten Jubilees, from the Exodus, the second phase of the Hebrew Monarchy, that of the hereditary kingship, commenced. The form of regal government then established may be regarded as existing for 460 years, down to the commencement of the servitude of seventy years to the king of Babylon, An. Sac. 4219. But the period of the undivided rule of any king of Israel was but brief. It can only be said with certitude to have endured from the death of Ishbosheth, son of Saul, An. Sac. 3766, to the death of Solomon, An. Sac. 3839. From the capture of Samaria by Shalmaneser, at the end of an independence of 290 years, An. Sac. 4089, to the extinction of the Hebrew independence by the defeat and death of Josiah at the battle of Megiddo, by Neku, king of Egypt, An. Sac. 4210, a term of 120 or 121 years, is the only period, after the death of Solomon during which the House of Judah even pretended to hold the hegemony in Palestine.

The broad lines which are thus traced by the Sacred historians afford a bolder and more easily grasped division of the history of the government of the Hebrews than do any minor events, important though they were to the actors, which circled round these cardinal dates. Thus the end of the First Monarchy may be, and has been for some purposes, differently dated. The battle of Megiddo was the actual close of the Jewish independence. The depositions and deportations of kings and people, on at least five different occasions; the eras of revolt and of sub-

mission; and the final destruction of the city, and burning of the Holy House, by Nebuchadnezzar, are all referred to ascertainable dates. So, again, with regard to the return from the Captivity, there are different eras of release. The death of Nebuchadnezzar, An. Sac. 4247, was the first of these, when king Jeconiah was released from the heavier burden of his imprisonment. The capture of Babylon by Cyrus, followed by the immediate permission to the Jews under Sheshbazzar to return to Jerusalem (Ezra 1. 1), and by the laying of the foundation of the Temple in the following year (An. Sac. 4273) is the second instance of improvement in the condition of the Jews. During the remainder of the reign of Cyrus, during that of his son Cambyzes, and down to the accession of Darius the son of Hystaspes, the restoration of Jerusalem was arrested. But in the 2nd year of Darius, An. Sac. 4289, seventy years from the invasion following the revolt of Jehoiakim against Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings 24. 1), the close of the 'indignation' was announced by the prophet Zechariah (1. 12); the rebuilding of the Temple was resumed; and the dedication of the Holy House followed, four years later, in the 6th year of Darius, An. Sac. 4293 (Ezra 6. 15).

An unrecorded period of fifty-five years (during which some writers, but not Josephus, consider the events narrated in the Book of Esther to have occurred) separate the Passover of the year 4294 (Ezra 6. 19) from that in the 6th year of Artaxerxes (Ezra 7. 9), An. Sac. 4349, after the lapse of 1,080 years from the Exodus. A descendant of Zadoc, Ezra no doubt had the position of chief of the Sanhedrin; Joiachim, the son of Jeshua (Ezra 10. 18) having probably by that time succeeded his father, who was High priest in An. Sac. 4289 (Hag. 1. 1). The appointment of Nehemiah, as Tirshatha, or governor representing the great king, followed, in the 20th of Artaxerxes, An. Sac. 4363. The wall of Jerusalem was then closed, during the High priesthood of Eliashib the son of Joiachim, the first Pontiff of whom any ascertained coins exist. With the close of the Book of Nehemiah, An. Sac. 4375 (Neh. 13. 6), the period of transition, extending from the death of Nebuchadnezzar, closes, and

that of a domestic government, under the High priests and Presidents of the Senate, may be taken to commence.

From at least the time of the 18th, down to that of the 33rd, dynasty of Egypt, the position of Palestine left it frequently exposed to the inroads of the kings of Egypt and of Syria, in their secular struggles for supremacy. The Sacerdotal Government was not strong enough to hold its own; and the harshness of the Syrian rule, under the 4th and 5th Antiochus, led to the national movement headed by Judas Maccabeus; to the acknowledgment of his brother Simon as Ethnarch of the Jews; and to the assumption of the monarchy by Aristobulus, An. Sac. 4705, which date is accurately stated by Josephus as in the 472nd year from the Captivity. The Hasmonean line of princes, torn by family strife, was displaced by Herod, the Idumæan, who was made king by the Senate of Rome, An. Sac. 4770, and became master of Jerusalem, An. Sac. 4773. With the death of Herod, An. Sac. 4806, in the year assigned with the greatest probability as the date of the Nativity, the independence of the Second Jewish Kingdom came to an end, after a brief duration of a century. Archelaus, the son of Herod, was allowed the title of Ethnarch alone, as we find it on his coins; and although the title of King was enjoyed by Herod Agrippa, as well as by Agrippa II., the extent of their dominions, no less than the sovereignty of their power, were limited by the influence of the Roman Presidents of Syria, and of the Procurators of Judæa. The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, An. Sac. 4879, in the 1710th year from the Exodus, was the virtual close of the Jewish polity, although coins of Agrippa were struck as late as An. Sac. 4904, twenty-five years after the great catastrophe. The hereditary priesthood endured, in the first line (with the exception of the break from Eli to Abiathar), for 1,378 years, Menelaus, the third son of Simon II., being the 49th High priest. The second line, that of the Hasmonean Pontiffs, closed with the murder of Aristobulus, the 58th High priest, by Herod, the husband of his sister Mariamne, in An. Sac. 4775. Thus the whole duration of the hereditary High priesthood, including the period of 56 years, during which its functions were in abey-

ance, was 1,506 years, in which time the pontifical robes were worn by 58 High priests. The shadowy Pontiffs who were appointed and displaced by the Idumæan kings, or by the Roman governors of Palestine, during the remaining term of 104 years for which the Temple was standing, were 25 in number, which allows little more than 4 years for the average term of office; while the average time for which the hereditary priests held their dignity was about 25 years each.

Of the Presidents of the Senate, no complete list is in existence. From the time of Simon the Just, who was both High priest and President in An. Sac. 4500, to the death of Simon the son of Gamaliel, in the year of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, the names of ten Presidents can be collected from the Talmud, including both of the above-named Rabbis. This allows an average time of office of 34 years, which is longer than that of the High priests. Among the latter, however, the succession passed twice to three, and once to two, brothers; while the great age attained by the famous Rabbis was proverbial. During the above term of 379 years the names of five of the vice-presidents, or chiefs of the fathers, are also known. Gamaliel the younger, the son of Simon ben Gamaliel, was the fifth of the seven Presidents who were dignified by the title of Rabban, or Great Master. He was succeeded, An. Sac. 4891, by his son Simon, cited in the Talmud as Rashbag, the father of the famous Judah the Saint, the codifier of the Mishna, who died An. Sac. 4998. Simon III., dying in 5010, was succeeded by his grandson Gamaliel, the last of the Tanaim, or Mishnic doctors. He was established at Tiberias. The title of Nasi was borne by the Presidents who followed. And the principal rabbis and doctors of the law who were their contemporaries, and who are known by the title of Amoraim, are those whose names occur in the Gemara down to the close of the Talmud, in An. Sac. 5309.

The temper and policy of the Sacerdotal Government was to some extent varied, from time to time, by the prevalence of the views held by one or other of the main schools, or sects, of the Jews. Of these three are mentioned in the Gospels,

four by Josephus, and as many as ten by the Talmudic writers.

Of these, the most ancient was the great party of the Sadducees, which is traced in the Talmud to certain doctors of the name of Sadoc and Baithos, about the time of Simon the Just, An. Sac. 4500. Akin to this sect, which guided the counsels of the great High priest, Johanan II., or Hyrcanus, for the last years of his life, and which maintained supremacy for 33 years, was that of the Karaites, whose origin has been by some writers, dated as low as the seventh or eighth century, but who are mentioned by name in the tract Megillah of the Talmud. In his Comments on the tract Rosh Hashanah, Houtingius discusses the difference between the Karaites and the Sadducees, referring to the strict adherence of the former to the actual observation of the new moon. The central principle of these religionists was that of adherence to the written Law as the sole guide of faith and practice, and the erection of a barrier against those constantly multiplying 'hedges of the law,' which from the early times of the Maccabees were insisted on by the rival party of the Pharisees. The reproach which was hurled against the Sadducees as to their unbelief of the future life, which may no doubt have applied to many of the sect, was incurred by the advocacy of the doctrine that the Law give no distinct utterance on this point. With regard to this, it should be borne in mind that the reply given by Jesus to the question put by the Sadducees as to the future lot of the woman who had married seven brothers, did not take the form of citing any distinct precept, but was, as in the teaching of the Pharisees, made in the way of inference from the title given to the Most High as the God of their fathers. It is a remarkable fact, that the Jews who embraced Christianity are alluded to in the Talmud as Galilæan Sadducees, notwithstanding the fact that belief in the resurrection of the dead was the very central doctrine of their faith. This disbelief, as a theoretical opinion, weighed less with the Pharisees, as a matter to excite objection, than the refusal to adopt those outward rules of purification which were not made part of the synhedral law until after the introduction of Christianity.

The sect of the Pharisees, to use the words of the learned Abbé Chiarini, in his French edition of the treatise *Beracoth*, originated in the reaction against the Sadducees and Karaites, in the early times of the Hasmoneans. Their main doctrines were the observance of the oral Law, the cultivation of tradition, and the establishment of fences to the Law, or supplementary rules, the enforcement of which would render impossible the breach of any direct precept. To this was added, by their opponents, the reproach that they elevated tradition above the written law, and ceremonies above morality. The Pharisees, according to the same learned author, consisted of seven schools, viz., (1), The Shecamites, or those who bore the Law on their shoulders; that is to say, who were anxious to make a parade of their obedience. (2), The Niephes, or borrowers, who were in the habit of asking for loans of money to bestow on charity, or for religious objects. (3), The Kizeen, or Counters, who enumerated the number of transgressions. (4), Those who pretended to renounce their fortunes in order to consecrate it to alms and pious works (as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira). (5), Those who asked their neighbours if they had done anything which required expiating sacrifice or compensation (Matt. 19. 16). (6), Those who did right from the Fear of God. And, finally, those who, like Abraham, did so from the Love of God. Thus, out of the seven groups, at least five would fairly come under the designation of hypocrites.

At the time of the Evangelists the main division, however, of the Pharisees was into the two great opposing schools of Hillel and Shamai: the constant opposition of which two celebrated doctors turned on minute points; and were supported by arguments of a character difficult to convey to an English reader. The main characteristics might be said to be, that the school of Hillel sought to lighten or alleviate, and that of Shamai to confirm, or as it was called aggravate, the Law. But even as to this, their opinions were sometimes reversed. The Hebrew words in question are respectively translated 'destroy' and 'fulfil' in the English New Testament (Matt. 5. 17).

Among the other sects, the Gaulonites or Zealots, who are

mentioned by Josephus,¹ were the opponents of the Herodians, named in the Gospel (Matt. 22. 16); the former declaring that the Jews could not be the subjects and tributaries of any King but God; the latter arguing that it is allowable to submit to force in matters of conscience.

The Hellenists, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, adopted the maxims of the Greek Philosophy, and formed the crest of that wave of pagan influence the effect of which may be traced in the translation of the Law into Greek (for which a fast was subsequently appointed), and even in the use of the Greek mode of writing from left to right, as is seen on a coin of Eleasar. (Fig. 2.)

The views of the Mehistanites,—a sect dating its origin from the return from Babylon, are to be detected in the Talmud wherever the dual action of good and evil spirits is referred to. They were also addicted to astrological observances. The Misramites,—a sect originating about the time of Alexander the Great, are betokened by their use of the numeric or graphic Cabbala, which is held to be of Egyptian origin. The Essenes are characterized by Chiarini as giving an allegorical sense to the Law of Moses, and as the authors of a great part of the Agada of the Talmud. The Therapeutes were a sect who placed supreme happiness in contemplation, and to whom most of what is called the Dogmatic Cabbala is attributed.

¹ 13 *Ant.* 5. 9, 18 *Ant.* 1. 3-5, 2 *Wars* 8. 2-14.

CHAPTER VII.

TAXES, TRIBUTE, AND OFFERINGS.

THE Law of Moses regarded the produce of the soil of Palestine as the source of the wealth, and the means of the support, of the people. To the law of hereditary ownership, admitting a descent to females only in the event of the failure of male heirs, were added special provisions as to the reverting of the fee simple, of all lands which had been sold, to the representatives of the hereditary owner, in the Year of Jubilee (Levit. 25. 10).

Private rights being thus secured by a special code of institutions, the support of the worship of the Temple, the maintenance of the priests and Levites, and the relief and support of the poor, were no less carefully provided for by the legislator. Following the order of the treatises of the Mishna, which show how the precepts of the Pentateuch were actually carried out, we find that the tract Peah, the second treatise of the First Order, opens with the statement that no exact measure has been prescribed for the corner of the field, the first-fruits, or the appearance money, or offering to be made at the chief festivals. The first of these items refers to the precept (Levit. 23. 22), to leave the corner of the field, in the harvest, for the poor. Maimonides notes, that when the Mishna says, 'there is no fixed measure,' it is to be understood 'given in the Law,' but that according to the decision of the sages the portion thus left must not be less than the 60th part of the field. This, then may be taken as the first definite charge upon the land which was made for the support of the poor.

The 'corner' might be in any part of the field. The general rule for its reservation was, 'that what was edible fruit of the

earth, was watched, and was harvested at one time,' came under the law. The cereals and leguminous plants are named; and among trees the fruit of the Caruba, the nut, the almond tree, the vine, the pomegranate, the olive, and the palm. It is incidentally mentioned in the comments on this Mishna that there were three quæstors, or officers, who looked after the obligatory annual payments. The rightful claims of the poor are detailed in this tract, together with the rules for the collection and distribution of the alms of the 'dish' and of the 'basket.' No person had any claim to the corner, to the right of gleaning, or to a share in the tithes of the poor, who possessed an income of 200 denarii, or zuzæ, a year, or who had by him at one time 50 denarii that could be employed in trading. Who ever took alms beyond his actual right or need, would, according to the Mishna, be sure to come to beggary. And whoever, being in need, did not accept alms, might confidently expect to be able to nourish others, at his own cost, before he left the world.

The rule for the tithe is more general than that for the corner of the field; as it includes all produce of the earth that is eaten, and that is guarded, or not wild. The law of the first-fruits, of the objects as to which the decimation was doubtful, and of the intermixture of crops which might complicate the questions of proper separation of the portions due to the priests or to the poor, are discussed at great length in the tracts Trumoth, Demai, Biecurim, and Kilaim. The second tithes (Deut. 14. 22) form the subject of the tract Maaser Shenii. (Cf. 4 Ant. 8. 22, and Tobit 1. 6-8). Of these, the rules, as summed up by Maimonides, were that they were to be set apart; that their price was not to be laid out in the purchase of anything but food, drink, or unguents; that they were not to be eaten in a state of impurity, or in mourning; that the second tithes of corn, wine, and oil, were only to be eaten at Jerusalem; and that the same rule applied to the fruits of the fourth year of the week of years. The second tithes were to be set apart after the separation of the first tithe. In the third and sixth years of the week the second tithes were given to the poor.

The tithe of the tithes (Num. 18. 26) which was incumbent

on the Levites, has been thought by some writers to have been intended as a provision for supporting the dignity of the High priest. Such does not appear to have been the case, at all events, in later times. But it was not an additional impost on the people at large.

The minute provisions of the Law show how thoroughly the observance of the Week of Years entered into the daily life of the Israelites. It was not, as has been frequently assumed, merely the compulsory fallow of the seventh year, and the re-establishment of the hereditary ownership of the land in the 49th year, that were enjoined. Each year of the week had its special character; and the adoption of such an institution as that of giving the second tithes, on two out of every seven years, to the poor was in itself a guarantee for the regular observance of the cycle.

The heave offering, or cake of the first of the dough, was another charge upon the income of the Israelite (Num. 15. 19), which is treated in detail in the tract Halah. Wheat, barley, spelt, oats, and rye, came under this obligation; and it was forbidden to reap them before the Passover. During that festival everyone was bound to partake of this cake, unleavened. Gleaning, the produce of the corner, and the first-fruits, were free from tithe, but were subject to the separation of this cake. Rice, millet, sesame, and *legumina*, and in general all produce of the soil that increased less than 20-fold on the seed, were free from the heave offering, although subject to tithe. A number of minute rules are given by the Mishna for the separation of these minor oblations. The Bicurim were the first-fruits of the Holy Land, obligatory only while the Temple stood. Both the tithes and the Trumoth, or oblation from prepared articles of consumption, were incumbent on the Jews residing without the confines of Palestine. The former were presented in the Temple, the latter given to the priests when convenient. Imported fruits were subject to the impost. The quantity fixed for the oblation was the twenty-fourth part of the mass. But this probably applies only to the first preparation of the fruits of the year, as the Mishna states that the first oblation, and

the oblation from tithes, the heave offering, and the first-fruits, amount in all to one per cent. The circumcision of trees and vines, due on the fourth year of the week, amounted to one in two hundred of the value of the crop. The Biccūrim were confined to seven species of plants, and were not to be brought in before Pentecost. For the minute details which regulated the whole observance of this group of duties, the student must consult the First Order of the Mishna. It may be estimated that the whole proceeds of the first and second tithes, together with the specified annual offerings, amounted to a minimum of about $22\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the net produce of the soil. Of this, in round figures, half went to the priests and Levites, one fourth to the poor, and one fourth was devoted to meet the cost of the yearly visits to Jerusalem, enjoined by the Law.

The tithes and oblations already mentioned were first charges on the product of the soil, and varied, to some extent, in their incidence, with the fertility of the year. In addition to these charges, a small money offering was obligatory on the great festivals, the amount of which was not fixed by the Law, but was determined by the Sanhedrin at the minimum of two per cent. on the value of the holocaust brought by the contributor. There was a difference between the schools of Hillel and of Shammai as to the exact distribution of the 'appearance money,' and the Khagigah, or Easter offering; but they are rated together at 3 silver *ma'im*, or 48 grains of silver, which is a little over the weight of an English silver sixpence.

In addition to the foregoing charges, provision for the annual offering of half a shekel by every adult male, was made on the 15th day of Adar in the provinces, and on the 25th in Jerusalem. This annual tax, prescribed in the Pentateuch (Exod. 30. 12), was incumbent on every male adult Israelite on pain of death. The very elaborate provisions by which the payment was regulated according to the Synhedral Law are to be found in the tract Shekalim of the Mishna.

On the return from Babylon (Shekalim 2. 4), the Temple tax was paid in Darics, or Medic money; afterwards in Selaim (the heavier shekel); then in Tebham (or half Selaim); finally,

the attempt was made by the people to pay only the denarius, or drachm. 'Rabbi said (Buxt. fo. 2199), the common right has obtained to give a tridrachm.' This is the classic equivalent of the rigia, or stater, which St. Peter (Matt. 17. 27) was bidden to pay to the questors of the didrachm, or Temple tax, for his Master and himself. Most of the Kodesh money now extant is a little under the true weight of the stater and of the half-stater, the former containing as much silver as three English shillings. Thus the total annual money payment, for appearance money, Klagigah, and Temple half-shekel, amounted to about the same weight of silver as that contained in two English shillings.

Of the civil taxation of the Jews under the Monarchy we have far less information than as to the Sacred imposts. From the passage in the Book of Samuel (1 Sam. 8. 11 to 18), which is appealed to in the tract Sanhedrin, it may be gathered that a third tithe was separated for the King. The passage in Ezekiel (45. 1-8) which speaks of the consecration of a certain area of land for the support of the priests, and for that of the prince, allots an equal area to each. The income of Solomon is stated at 666 talents of gold. If by this is intended gold to the weight of so many ordinary talents, the value, setting gold at ten times the worth of silver, was 3,330,000*l.* per annum. The number of adult males in the Holy Land at the time was over 1,300,000 (2 Sam. 24. 9), giving a rate of taxation of 50 shillings per male, or about 12*s.* 6*d.* per unit of population. The area of the land occupied by the 12 tribes was nearly 7,000,000 English acres; so that if reckoned as a land tax the sum in question would amount to nearly 10*s.* per acre. If we compare this with the valuation given in the Pentateuch (Lev. 27. 16), of fifty shekels for the produce of a kor of land sown with barley, and allow for the relation then obtaining of between 10 and 9 to 1 in the respective values of gold and silver, we come to an estimated value of from 4*l.* 8*s.* to 4*l.* 18*s.* for the value of the year's produce of an acre; the tenth part of which is close upon the result, as calculated in talents, in the 1st Book of Kings. The portion taken by Pharaoh of the produce of the

land of Egypt is stated in the Book of Genesis (47. 26) at one-fifth; the priests there being provided with their own land, which was untaxed.

Thus a compulsory exaction of less than one-fourth of the annual produce of the earth, which was instituted under the Hierocracy, was raised to a taxation of somewhat more than one-third, under the Monarchy; independent of any abuse of power. The diminution of the independence of the nation, after the death of Solomon, is strikingly illustrated by this estimate of the national income. A compact territory of some 7,000,000 acres, yielding a revenue of nearly three and a half millions sterling per annum, was that of a politically respectable Power. But when this was divided into two hostile States, one containing a third of the area and five-eighths of the population of the other, and each ready to enter into hostile alliances for mutual injury, it is evident how little influence could be exerted by the kings of Israel or of Judah, and how utterly unable they both were, when thus divided, to resist the forces of either Syria, Assyria, or Egypt.

It remains to consider those contributions to the support of the services of the Temple which were either voluntary, or incurred in consequence of some family event, or of some violation of the Law; as well as of that organization of the priesthood of which the details are given in the Mishna.

The most clear and satisfactory account that exists of the Jewish Sacrifices is that given by Maimonides in his preface to the Order Kodashim of the Mishna. In this he cites both the precepts of the Pentateuch, and those of the Mishna, and laments that the neglect and ignorance of many of his countrymen rendered necessary such an abstract of the Law.

All sacrifices enjoined or permitted by the Jewish Law rank under four heads. They were either Holocausts; Sacrifices for Sin; Sacrifices for Error or trespass; or Peace Offerings. Again, there was a fourfold division of the sacrifices, according to those persons on whose behalf they were offered. These were, first, public Sacrifices offered for the whole people; secondly, private sacrifices for individuals; thirdly, those sacrifices for the whole

congregation which partook of a private nature; and, fourthly, those private sacrifices which partook of a public nature.

The victims to be offered were of five kinds: viz. sheep, oxen, goats, young pigeons, and full-grown doves. These victims, known as Zebalim, comprise all legal sacrifices, in the usual sense of the word. The Mincha, or Minchoth in the plural, which is usually translated offering, and sometimes meat offering (in an obsolete sense of the word 'meat'), was an oblation of vegetable origin, distinct from, though usually accompanying, the slaughter of a victim. The term as applied to flour, or meal (as with the *mola* of the Classic writers), to incense, and, with the addition of the word *nasik*, to wine. The Mincha was of two kinds; that which was offered by itself, and that which was offered together with a victim. In the latter case it was always accompanied by a libation, or offering of wine, and so called the Mincha Nasikim, or Nesikim.

The Holocaust (Lev. 1. 1 to 13) was offered either for the whole people, or for a private individual; and consisted in the total consumption by fire of either of the legal kinds of victim, rams, bullocks, he-goats, or pigeons or doves of either sex.

The Sacrifice for Sin was of two kinds. In one of these the 'fat' (which word had a special technical meaning) was burned on the altar, and the remainder of the victim was eaten by the priests, within the courts of the Temple. In the other case, the flesh was also burnt. Male or female animals were legal for this sacrifice.

The proper victim for the Trespass Offering was a ram, of any age. After the fat had been consumed on the altar, the flesh was eaten by the priests, within the precincts of the Temple. A trespass offering was made for individuals, not for the whole congregation.

The Peace Offering was either for the whole congregation or for individuals. In the former case, it was of beasts alone; in the latter, of any of the four species of victims, either male or female. In the first case, the priests eat the residue within the courts of the Temple; in the latter, the breast and shoulder were given to the priests, and the remainder was eaten, within

the walls of Jerusalem, by those who offered, together with their wives.

Of the public sacrifices, the first was that already described as the Tamid or 'continual;' being a daily holocaust of two lambs, one in the morning and one in the evening, to which nothing could be added, and from which nothing could be omitted; the rule being the same on the Sabbath, on the Day of Atonement, on the Great Festivals, and on ordinary days.

On the Sabbath two additional holocausts were made, one after the morning, and one before the evening, Tamid. These were called the Additions for the day.

On every new moon there was an addition to each daily sacrifice, consisting of two bullocks, one ram, and two yearling rams, offered as holocausts, and one he-goat as a sin offering, making in all twelve victims wholly, and one partially, burnt. If the new moon fell on the Sabbath, the sacrifices amounted to fifteen in all.

During the festival of Passover, an addition was made on each of the seven days of the feast, of two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs, in holocaust, besides a he-goat as a sin offering. On the second day, called the Feast of Unleavened Bread, on which the omer was offered, a lamb was also added as a holocaust.

On the Day of Pentecost two additions were made: one of two bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs, in holocaust, and a he-goat as a sin offering; the other, together with two loaves, comprised a bullock and seven lambs in holocaust, a he-goat as a sin offering, and two lambs as a peace offering, making in all twenty-six victims on this day.

On the first day of the year, beside the Tamid, and the addition for the new moon, was offered a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs, in holocaust, and a he-goat for sin. On the Day of Expiation the congregation offered nine victims in holocaust, and one for sin; the he-goat in expiation of sin, accompanied by the sending forth of the L'Azazel or scape goat; and a ram in holocaust (Lev. 16. 3), according to the precept in the Pentateuch.

On the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles there was an addition made to the daily sacrifice of thirteen rams, two bullocks, and fourteen lambs, all in holocaust, and a he-goat as a sin offering, making in all thirty victims. On each subsequent day of the feast the same offerings were repeated, with the exception of the rams, the number of which was diminished by one daily; so that on the seventh day of the festival the number of victims was reduced to twenty-four. But on the octave, or last day of this festival, the additions to the daily sacrifices consisted of a ram, a bullock, and seven rams in holocaust, and a goat as a sin offering.

The above-named sacrifices are called the Additions, or Accessories, of the days to which they are proper. They might accumulate if the Sabbath, or a new moon, or both together, fell on a festival. The general rule for regulating the order of the several sacrifices was, that the more common preceded the more unusual.

The above are the sacrifices of the congregation, properly so called, from which no deviation was allowable. In so far as was necessary for their performance, they all superseded the law of the Sabbath. They did not include any peace offerings, with the exception of the two lambs at the Feast of Pentecost; or any sacrifices for error. A special ceremonial attended the burning of the residue of the goat offered on the Day of Expiation, in an appointed place without the city wall, which the *Tosaphta* states was on the north of Jerusalem.

From the above regulations it may be calculated that 1,022 lambs, 103 rams, and 75 bulls were regularly offered in holocaust in the course of each ordinary year of 12 lunations, making a total of 1,200 victims. In the embolismic years, containing 13 lunations, the number of victims amounted to 1,276. All these were wholly burnt on the great altar. Besides these holocausts, the annual ritual demanded the sacrifice of 16 goats, 3 bullocks, and 3 rams, as sin offerings, and 2 lambs as peace offerings, the flesh of which was eaten by the priests within the precincts of the Temple.

The Second Order of Sacrifices, consisting of those for private

persons, was classified under five heads:—First, there were those incumbent on every individual on account of anything which he had done or spoken amiss. Secondly, those due on account of any misfortune which happened to his person. Thirdly, those due on account of anything which affected his property. Fourthly, those proper to stated seasons. Fifthly, those incurred by a vow.

Of the thirty-six capital crimes defined by the Law, and enumerated in the tract Keritoth, thirty-three, if committed unadvisedly, involved the necessity for a sin offering. If any doubt existed as to the fact, a sacrifice for doubtful error was substituted. For the three principal offences, of blasphemy, or utterance of the Divine Name according to its letters; of neglect to prepare the Passover in its season, including the removal of leaven from the house; and of neglect to circumcise a boy on the proper day, no sin offering was admitted (Heb. 10. 26); the reason, no doubt, being the consideration that these offences could not be committed unwittingly.

In case of a sin offering required for any breach of the law as to idolatry, the proper sacrifice was that of a she-goat of one year old, whether the offender were the king, the anointed priest, or one of the simplest of the people. In case of an offence against the Sanctuary, or the holy things, the appointed sacrifice was that of a ewe or a she-goat; or, in case of poverty, of two young pigeons or turtle-doves, one as a holocaust, the other as a sin offering. If the offender were too poor to procure even these humble victims, the law prescribed the offering of an omer of flour. In the above cases no distinction of persons was made. In the case of the remaining twenty-one crimes, the sin offering required was, in the case of the king or prince, a he-goat; in the case of an anointed priest, a bullock, which was to be burnt, and was called the 'bullock offered for all precepts;' and in the case of those whom the Law calls the 'people of the land,' a ewe or a she-goat.

For a breach of chastity with the female slave of another man, a ram was offered, under the title of sacrifice for certain error. For the offence of Maalah, which is translated pre-

varication, or defraudal (Mark 10. 19, *apostereses*), and which means the obtaining of any profit from hallowed things, a ram was to be offered, under the title of sacrifice for *peshaa maal*, or *mailah*, 'trespass of prevarication.' This, however, was only in case of an offence committed in ignorance; as hallowed things could not be profaned of set purpose, but continued in their sanctity. In case of false witness, if conscious, a ram was required; if unconscious, the case was treated as an offence against the Sanctuary.

The second kind of private sacrifice arose on account of accidents to the person, as in the cases of leprosy, issue, childbirth, or pollution of a Nazarite by contact with sepulchral remains. After purification from issue, the proper offering was two turtle-doves, or young pigeons. After childbirth, the proper sacrifice was that of a yearling lamb in holocaust, and a dove, or young pigeon, as a sin offering. The leper brought two lambs, one as a holocaust, the other as sacrifice for the trespass of the leper. In these two cases there was an alleviation on the plea of poverty (cf. Luke 2. 24). A holocaust of two doves, or young pigeons, was due from a proselyte, after submitting to the rite of baptism.

The third case of private sacrifice regarded property; as in the cases of the first-born, the tithes of cattle, and the first-fruits, each of which involved a peace offering.

The fourth case of private obligation arose from the recurrence of fixed seasons. Thus a holocaust was due from every Israelite at each of the three great annual festivals. To these were added the Khagigah and the peace offering of gladness, accompanied, as before mentioned, by the two oblations, consisting of one and of two *maaim*. These sacrifices are called spontaneous, and being of a private nature do not supersede the Sabbath.

The fifth ground of private sacrifice arose from vows. The Nazarite, on the expiration of his vow, was to offer (Acts 21. 24) a yearling ram in holocaust, a yearling ewe for sin offering, and a ram for a peace offering. Again, there was the vow or promise of a holocaust, or peace offering. If it was a particular

animal that was specified in the vow, the maker of the vow was released if the animal happened to die. Lastly, the Eucharist was a peace offering of the same nature, intended as an expression of gratitude to the Most High.

The above comprise all the sacrifices offered by private individuals. They differed from the public sacrifices, inasmuch as they neither caused pollution, if touched, nor superseded the Sabbath.

The Third Order of Sacrifices comprised those offerings which were made after the order of private sacrifices, but on behalf of the whole congregation or representative body of the people of Israel. Such a sacrifice was rendered necessary in the event of an erroneous decision on the part of the Great Sanhedrin, or national Senate; any error on the part of which, arising from ignorance, had thus to be expiated. If the second Sanhedrin (of twenty-three members), or the local or tribal courts, obeyed an erroneous decision of the supreme court, a sin offering was involved. It is explained in the treatise Horaioth of the Mishna that these offerings had to be made, severally, on behalf of each tribe that had thus offended.

In case of idolatry, the proper sacrifice was that of a bullock in holocaust, with a he-goat as a sin offering. The goat was to be burned in the same manner as the goat on the Day of Expiation, under the title of the Goat of Aboda Zarah.

In any other case than one having reference to idolatry, the prescribed sacrifice was a bullock as a sin offering, under the title of the 'Bullock for the hidden offence of the Church;' or of the 'Bullock which comes for all precepts.' In each case this kind of sacrifice was incumbent on each tribe severally; and the flesh of the victim had to be burned in the manner prescribed for that of the goat of the Day of Expiation. But these sacrifices resembled those of private individuals, inasmuch as they neither superseded the Sabbath, nor caused pollution to those who touched them.

To the Fourth Order of Sacrifices, those which, though offered by private individuals, had the character of public sacrifices, these two characteristics did apply; in accordance with the

general rule that the sacrifice of which the time is fixed, supersedes the Sabbath. Under this head rank the Paschal lamb, which was to be slaughtered on the 14th day of Nisan by every head of a house, and to be eaten by every Israelite, whether clean or unclean. The others were the bullock in expiation, and the ram in holocaust, which were offered by the High priest for himself on the 10th day of Tisri.

The foregoing are all the victims prescribed by the Law and comprehended under the name *Zebahim*, which we translate by the general term sacrifice, and which really includes the idea of slaughter. The general regulations affecting all these were to the effect that no victim could be offered which was blemished; a word of which the technical value has to be sought in the *Mishna*. No priest who was blemished could offer a sacrifice; a rule which led to the mutilation of Hyrcanus the Second, by the biting off his ears by his nephew Antigonus (1 Wars 13. 9), after the re-establishment of the latter by the Parthians, to prevent him from again acting as High priest. No sacrifice could be offered unless in the daytime; nor in any spot after the erection of the Temple, except upon the mountain of the House. We have enumerated those victims which, though slain in the Temple, were consumed without the walls; and we must also here note the solitary case of the sacrifice of the *Parah*, or red heifer, which was slain and burnt on the summit of the Mount of Olives, directly opposite to the great eastern gate of the Temple. This, however, would be more properly designated a purificatory rite than an offering to the Most High.

Maimonides further points out, in his preface to the tract *Zebahim*, that no female animal was offered in any public sacrifice, or sacrifice partaking of a public nature. The flesh of no sin offering was burnt, with the exception of the goat of the Day of Expiation, the goat of the *Aboda Zarah*, and the bullock for the hidden offence of the church. On the other hand, in private sacrifices, or those partaking of a private nature, only female animals were slaughtered; with the three exceptions of the goat offered by the king, if he required to make a sin offering; the bullock for all precepts, offered by the Messiah, or anointed

priest ; and the bullock of the Day of Expiation. Nor, with the exception of the two last-named victims, was the flesh of any private sacrifice burned. In all other cases it was eaten. No sheep or lamb was offered in expiatory sacrifices for the congregation ; no goat was offered in holocaust ; and no animal of the ox tribe was offered for any private sacrifice ; with the exception of the two bulls above specified, of which the flesh was burned.

It may be observed that, from our present point of view, the sacrifices of the Law may be ranked in three main groups. These were, first, the holocausts, which may be regarded as of the nature of thank offerings, in which the entire victim was burnt on the altar, and neither priest nor people derived any temporal benefit from the sacrifice. The cost of the holocausts was defrayed from the yearly half-shekel tax, or from voluntary offerings made in the Temple. Secondly, the sin offerings were somewhat of the nature of a fine, imposed for the benefit of the priests, to whom the flesh of the victims was given. Thirdly, the peace offerings were of the nature of festivities or private feasts ; the greater part of the victims being eaten within the walls of the city by those who provided the sacrifice.

We referred to the *Mincha*, or offerings of a vegetable nature, which accompanied the slaughter of a victim. Of these the *Mincha Nasikim* was made both for the congregation and for private individuals. It is explained in the book *Siphri* that the holocaust of a bird does not involve a *mincha* (*Num.* 15. 4). From the same passage it is inferred that neither a sin offering or a trespass offering requires a *mincha*. Thus this addition is limited to the cases of the holocaust of a beast, of the vow, and of the free-will offering or Eucharist. Neither the sacrifice of the first-born, nor that of the Paschal lamb, required a *mincha* ; but the leper's sacrifice, both that for sin and that for error or trespass, did require that addition.

The *Mincha Nasikim* consisted of flour mixed with oil. The libation of wine which accompanied it was to be unmixed with water. The whole addition was frequently called the Libation, because flour was never offered without wine, nor wine without flour.

The principal rules for the measure of the Mincha were as follows:—With a goat, or a lamb not more than a year old, an omer of flour, mixed with a quarter of a hin of oil, and accompanied by the libation of the third part of a hin of wine, was prescribed. The equivalent quantities in English measures may be easily ascertained by reference to our Tables (See pp. 80, 81). This addition was made to each victim. For a ram, the quantity of flour was doubled; that of oil and wine being the same. For a victim of the ox tribe, the Mincha consisted of three omers of flour, half a hin of oil, and an equal quantity of wine.

The only exception to the above rules was in the case of the lamb offered on the second day of the Feast of Passover (Numb. 28. 26) when the omer of first-fruits was brought. The holocaust of this lamb required the mincha of an omer of flour, mixed with the third part of a hin of oil, and accompanied by the quarter of a hin of wine. The sacrifice of the leper required three omers of flour, one for each of the prescribed victims.

The Minchoth which did not depend on victims were of two kinds, public and private. The former was made on behalf of the whole people. There were three cases of public Mincha. The first was the ‘omer of agitation,’ or wave offering (Levit. 23. 10); a handful of which was burnt on the altar, and the rest was eaten by the priests. The second was the ‘two wave loaves’ of the Day of Pentecost (Levit. 23. 17). The third was the shew bread, which the priests ate on the Sabbath. This consisted of twelve loaves, or cakes, each made from two omers of flour. The form of these loaves is described in the tract Minchoth or Menahoth of the Mishna. Each of the Pentecost loaves was seven palms long, and four palms wide; and the horns of the loaf were to be four digits each. In the shew bread the length was ten palms, the width five, and the horns seven digits. The kneading and baking of these loaves, though not the grinding of the flour for them, superseded the Sabbath. Half of the loaves were given to the High priest, and the other half to the remainder of the priests and Levites

The private Minchoth were of five kinds. The first of these was called the Sinner's Mincha. It was obligatory in the case of anyone who had transgressed the Law in regard to the sanctity of the Sanctuary, or of holy things, or by rash swearing, or by false witness, whether of error or of purpose. If the offender was too poor to offer the proper sacrifice, he was to offer an omer of flour, without oil or frankincense. A handful was thrown on the altar, the rest was eaten by the priests.

In the case of the administration of the water of jealousy, an offering was made of barley meal, without oil or incense, under the title of the Mincha of Jealousy.

In the case of the vow to offer an Eucharistic sacrifice, or the completion of the vow of a Nazarite, loaves were to be added to the victim, but as the word 'Mincha' is not applied to these loaves in the Pentateuch, the special law of Mincha did not hold. If a priest brought the victim, he ate the accompanying loaf. If an Israelite, it was burned.

The fourth species of private Mincha was that of the priest, of which there were two kinds. The Mincha of the Messiah was offered daily, with the morning and evening sacrifices, on the part of the High priest. It is called in the Pentateuch (Lev. 6. 13, in Heb.-14 in A. V.) the Korban Aaron. It was a cake compound of flour, frankincense, and oil, containing half an omer in measure. Secondly, the priest's Mincha was obligatory on every priest, whether the Pontiff or any of his brethren, once only in his life, that is to say, on the occasion of his first wearing the sacred garments. It consisted of an omer of flour, which was wholly burnt. A priest was legally admissible to the sacred functions on attaining his legal majority, of thirteen years and one day. But the custom of the priests excluded the younger members of the order from the Temple until they attained the age of twenty. Thus we learn from Josephus that the last of the Hasmoncan line of priests, 'the lad Aristobulus, having attained his seventeenth year, came according to the Law to the altar, to perform the sacrifices, having on the ornaments of the High priest' (15 Ant. 3. 3).

The fifth species of this offering was the free-will offering,

or voluntary Mincha. This consisted of meal, either of five species mingled with oil, or of two kinds baked as loaves or cakes, all of which are described under specific names in the Mishna. All these offerings required flour, oil, and frankincense. A handful was burnt on the altar, and the remainder eaten by the priests, unless the person offering was himself a priest, in which case the whole was burnt.

The only remaining offering made in the Temple was Incense. Four aromatic substances are named in the Pentateuch as components of the holy incense; but the tract Keritoth of the Mishna names eleven species of perfumes that were to be mingled with the salt of Sodom and the amber of Jordan, by which is probably meant the rock-salt that is found on cliffs of from 200 to 300 feet high to the south of the Dead Sea, and the bitumen what floats on the surface of that lake. Of the ingredients named in Exodus (30. 34) three are resinous gums. The first of these, called *nataph*, 'drop,' or gum, is probably the juice of the *Styrax Benzoini*, or gum Benjamin. Galbanum, the second, is a resinous gum, brought by traders from the Persian Gulf. The English Pharmacopœia says that the plant which produces it is unknown, though seeds are found adhering to the gum. Gesenius says it is the *Ferula galbanifera*. Libanum, the third ingredient, is known to us as a reddish, or light yellow, gum, the Olibanum of the Pharmacopœia. It is the product of the *Boswellia thurifera*, and owes its name to its milky whiteness when fresh and pure. The fourth ingredient given in the Pentateuch is the Shekheleth, or shell, translated Onycha in the Authorised Version. It was the *operculum*, or lid of the shell of a species of *Strombus*, which gives a musky odour when burnt, and is still used in the East as a perfume. Maimonides says, in his notes on the tract Keritoth, that to 60 minæ of each of the five perfumes named in the Book of Exodus, were added myrrh, amber, spikenard, and saffron, 16 minæ of each; 9 minæ of cinnamon; and 3 minæ of the *kelepha*, an unknown plant (the secret of which was confined to the family of the hereditary makers of incense), which is said to have had the property of making the smoke ascend 'like a stick.' Three

hundred and sixty-eight minæ were made in the year ; half a mina being daily burned for the morning, and half a mina for the evening incense offering ; and three minæ on the Day of Atonement. To make up the specified weight would require the addition of 58 minæ of the mineral ingredients from the Jordan Valley. Thus all the three kingdoms of nature contributed their fragrance to the scent of the incense which daily arose from the golden altar, that stood before the veil of the *cella* of the Temple, or Most Holy Place.

Two *Lishcoth*, or closed chambers, existed in the Temple, one of which was called the chamber of hidden things, the other the chamber of vessels. In the first was kept the money which pious benefactors put secretly into the collecting chests (Matt. 6. 3). In the other were kept any objects of value, other than money, offered for the service of the Temple. The treasurers opened these chambers once a month ; and, selecting any vessels which were suitable for the Temple service, sold the rest, and applied the proceeds to the expenditure of the Sanctuary. There were thirteen different collecting chests, placed in different parts of the Temple, for different objects. The general receipts were investigated thrice in the year: in the week before the Passover, in that before Pentecost, and in that before the Feast of Tabernacles. The money found was placed in chests, of the capacity of nine *sevim* each, lettered Aleph, Beth, and Gimel. The priests who took the account were not allowed to wear shoes, sandals, phylacteries, or a folded dress, so that they might be under no temptation to secrete any of the coins. The money was in the first instance applied to the cost of the fixed sacrifices. The cost of the bridge which had to be erected for the burning of the red heifer, and of that annually raised for leading the scape goat from the Temple, are held by Abba Saul to have been defrayed by the High priest. Any residue from the offerings after all the legitimate costs had been defrayed are said by the Mishna (Shekaliin 4. 4) to have been devoted to the provision of plates of gold for covering the Most Holy Place.

For the regulation of the voluntary offerings there were four *Khathemuth*, Sigils, or counterfoils used in the Temple,

inscribed respectively 'bullock,' 'male,' 'goat,' 'sinner.' The person who had an offering to make went to the prefect of the Sigils, and paid the proper sum for the sacrifice and accompanying mincha. He then received a sigil, or counterfoil, on the production of which the proper officer supplied him with the victims, the meal, the oil, the frankincense, and the wine, as requisite. The institution of the sigils, as well as that of the *Shat Khamath*, or tables of the money changers (which were provided in the Temple on the 25th of Adar, for the purpose of supplying every Israelite, who was then unprovided, with the proper coin for the payment of the Temple tax), was probably at once a matter of necessity for the literal accomplishment of the precepts of the Law, and an expedient very liable to abuse, in the absence of due supervision. Under the rule of a Sadducee High priest, the punctilious observances of the opposite party, the great advocates of tradition and of the unwritten Law, may have been so far despised, as to render those entrusted with the performance of the duty of aiding all who came to offer sacrifices in the Temple liable to the rebuke of turning the Holy House into a den of thieves (Matt. 21. 13).

CHAPTER VIII.

ART AND SCIENCE AMONG THE ISRAELITES.

THE question of the state of the Arts, whether Fine or Industrial, among the Israelites, is one to be regarded from two points of view. We may either enquire into such evidence as is accessible as to the state and development of any branch of art, at any period of the Sacred history; or we may endeavour to estimate the effects likely to be produced on the secular growth and development of such branches of art by the idiosyncrasy of the Semitic mind, and by the influence of Semitic institutions.

Commencing with the simplest and most universal of human arts, that of Speech, it is presented to us in the Hebrew records in a state of much simplicity; although it is one considerably removed from the most elementary form, that of a monosyllabic dialect, such as we find existing among some of the Turanian races. Of the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet the whole number have not been found together in any ancient monumental inscription. The Beth, the Vau, and the Pe, the Zain and the Tsadhe, the Caph and the Koph, the Samech and the Shin, the Teth and the Tau, are so far duplicates of one another, as to suggest the idea that the complete Hebrew alphabet, as it now exists, is a compendium of the several alphabets of different, though cognate tribes: a view which is illustrated by the use of the letter Shin by the Gileadites (Jud. 12. 6), in place of the Samech pronounced by the Ephraimites. Of the remaining 16 letters, thus regarded as primary (in accordance with the Greek tradition as to the earliest number) according to Semitic scholars, are all consonants; the difference be-

tween the aspirations of the Aleph and the He, and between the guttural sounds of the Kheth and of the Ain, being such as the inhabitants of Western Europe can hardly appreciate, still less attempt to imitate. The contrast between a language of consonants, differing chiefly in the roughness of its several local dialects, and the rolling music of the Ionic Greek or the modern Italian, is very marked. But it was not until as late as the fourth century of the Christian era that the attempt to attach the ten easily distinguishable vowel sounds to the written form of the Hebrew language took definite form, by the introduction of the Points now used; and it may be added that, without the Points, there is very little of what we call grammar in either the Hebrew or the Aramaic language. The defective representation of the vowel sounds, both in Arabic and in Egyptian, is such as to lead the cautious student to attach very little weight to any Hebrew translation or criticism that is dependent on the Points. In fact, it is hardly possible to study the Talmud without coming to the conclusion, that wherever it was possible to give a non-natural meaning to the Sacred Text by the mode of pointing it, or by some unexpected play on the words, there were always doctors to be found who were anxious to distinguish themselves by so doing. One instance, and a very significant one, may be cited from the tract Beracoth,¹ where the text 'Wisdom crieth without,' (Prov. 1. 20)' is rendered by the Gemarists 'Wisdom crieth like a goose.'

With regard to Poetry, it is undeniable that there is a total absence in the Hebrew language, not only of rhyme (which is a late feature in poetic form), but of any approach to metre. Occasionally we have a composition in the form of an acrostic. There is also the well-known habit of Parallelism, or of making the second half of a sentence re-echo the sense of the first, in somewhat different words. Neither of these efforts can be spoken of as affording any approach to poetic form, as it has been regarded by the greatest writers on the subject. There is apparent, indeed, as has been acknowledged by so elegant a critic as Longinus, a wonderful sublimity of thought in many

¹ *Le Talmud de Babylon*, vol. ii. p. 295.

portions of the Hebrew Scriptures. The expression of sublime ideas, and of profoundly reverential sentiments, in the simplest form of language, may be spoken of as something akin, or even superior, to the highest poetic inspiration ; but it is not properly designated as poetry.

Neither is it possible to admit of the existence of music, as we understand the word, combined with such a total absence of metre, that no motive exists for what we call 'air.' The only method of chanting unequal portions of prose, like the Hebrew Psalms, that was known till a very late date, is that peculiar to the Fellahin of Syria, and to the Coloni and Marinari of Naples ; namely, the continued repetition of a single note, ended by a long-drawn and generally very dissonant cry. If this be effected by a number of performers, gifted with the mighty lungs that are formed in a life of constant exposure to the elements, the effect is wild, imposing, and overpowering ; but it is anything but musical. Nor are we left only to draw inferences from the absence of metre, or from the *canto* of the Mediterranean peasantry of the present day. We have accounts of the instruments, of the arrangements, and of the services of the Temple, which are inconsistent with any performance of what we now regard as music. As to the dominant instrument, the trumpet, we not only have the representation on the coins, and on the Arch of Titus, of the long, straight tubes from which a single note and its octave are all that could be readily produced, but we have also the exact notation of the sound given in the Mishna, in the words Tekia and Teruah. As some doubt arose, in later times, as to the legal sound of the second, or broken note, a third combination, called Shebarim, was introduced, together with the former two. Thus the long-drawn note, followed by its octave, and then by a broken repetition of the same note, is placed on record by unimpeachable authority as the trumpet-call of the Temple. This, moreover, was on the most solemn occasions accompanied by the Shophar, or ram's horn, an instrument which can utter only one dismal and lugubrious sound.

For a knowledge of the musical instruments used in the

Temple services, we are indebted to various independent sources. Certain instruments are named in the Bible. Full details of what are legal and illegal with regard to the number of these instruments, to the provision of cases, and to the permission of carrying them into the Temple on the Sabbath, are to be found in the Mishna, and in the Commentary of Maimonides. Josephus (7 Ant. 12. 3) has spoken on the subject at some length; and the monumental representations on the coins and on the Arch of Titus supply yet further information.

The instruments of music used in the services of the Temple ranked under the main divisions of *Nehiloth*, or wind instruments, and *Neginoth*, or stringed instruments; to which was added a solitary instrument of percussion. Of the *Nehiloth* the first instrument was the silver trumpet, a plain bell-mouthed tube, which Josephus says (3 Ant. 12. 6) was a little less than a cubit in length. Two of these were always used, and the number might be increased on festivals up to 120. On the new year the players on two trumpets were accompanied by two performers on the *shophar*, or ram's horn, an instrument which, for that occasion, was made out of the horn of the ibex, or rock goat, and furnished with a golden mouthpiece. The performers on the *shophars* stood between the trumpeters, and prolonged their blast after the trumpet note had ceased. On fast days the trumpeters stood between the *shophar* sounders, and the note of the trumpet was prolonged. The *shophar* used on fast days was made of a curved ram's horn, with a silver mouthpiece. The use of the horn of any animal of the ox tribe for a *shophar* was forbidden, in commemoration, it is said, of the worship of the golden calf.

The *halil*, or pipe, called *aulos* in the Septuagint, which was played on in the Temple, has not been found represented on the coins. There can, however, be but little hesitation in identifying it with the *arghûl*, or double reed pipe, which is played on to the present day by the boatmen of the Nile. A pipe of this description is represented on the frescoes of Pompeii; and Raffaele has introduced a boy playing on it before the altar, in his cartoon of Paul and Barnabas at Lystra. Another

word for a pipe of some kind, the *abub*, is used in the Talmud. Maimonides considers that it was a single pipe made of a reed ; but Bartenora suggests that the *abub* was the reed mouthpiece of the *halil*, and that the latter must, in that case, have been made of metal.

The stringed instruments used in the services of the Temple were the *Kinnur*, or Cithara, and the *Nebel*, or *nablè* of the Septuagint. The Talmud says that one of these instruments had more strings than the other. Josephus says that the cithara had ten strings, and was struck by a plectrum, and that the *nèbel* had twelve strings, and was played by hand. But the Book of Psalms (Ps. 33. 2 ; 144. 9) mentions the *nebel asor*, which the Septuagint translates as the ten-chorded psaltery. Two *nebel*s were always to be played in the daily services of the Temple, and the number might not exceed six. But of the citharæ nine was the smallest number, and any number was admissible. The *Tsel-tsel*, an instrument of percussion, the same passage states, was only one. In his comment on this passage, Maimonides says that the *nebel* had the form of a bladder, or gourd. In the tract *Kelim* (15. 6) it is said that the *nebel* of the ordinary singer is unclean, but that of the Levite clean ; and Bartenora notes on this passage that there was an aperture, or resonance box, in the ordinary instruments, both *nebel*s and *kinnurs*, in which the wandering performers were accustomed to collect money in payment for their music ; but that the instruments of the Levites were not so made as to receive money. The *Erus* and the *Bathnan* are also mentioned in the Mishna as unclean. The former is explained by R. Elieser to be the tam-bourine, or 'table of one mouth,' and it is spoken of as a drum struck by two sticks in taverns and elsewhere. The *bathnan* is described as a hollow-bodied cithara. The coins represent different formed lyres ; one in the shape usually attributed to the Greek lyre, having either five or six strings ; the other, with a longer hollow body in proportion to the length of the strings, having only three. The words *Shoshannim* (Ps. 45. 1) and *Sheminith* (Ps. 6. 1) may possibly refer to the six-stringed and the eight-stringed cithara or *nebel*. In the

1st Book of Chronicles (15. 21) it is the kinnur that is connected with the word Sheminith. Shalishim is another word of the same group, which may denote the three-stringed form; but where it occurs in the 1st Book of Samuel (18. 6) it has been translated *Sistra* by St. Jerome, and thus has been generally taken to mean a triangle. All that is quite clear is that two descriptions of lyre, varying in the number of strings, one sort being struck by a plectrum, and the other twanged by the fingers, were in constant use in the services of the Temple. The kinnur, as intimated in the Book of Numbers (cf. Rev. 5. 8), must share with the trumpet the title of the characteristic instrument of the Levites.

The *Metsilthaim* (1 Chron. 13. 8), which are translated cymbals, are also mentioned in the Mishna (Succah 5. 4) among the innumerable instruments of music which were borne in the court of the Temple at the Feast of Tabernacles, with nebel, cytharæ, and trumpets. The *tseltselim* of 2nd Samuel (6. 5), probably describe the same instrument. In the early times of the Judges we read of the company of prophets coming down from the High Place (1 Sam. 10. 5) with the nebel, the teph, or tambourine, the halil, and the kinnur. In the 150th Psalm we find enumerated the ibex-horn, the shophar, the nebel, the kinnur, the teph (associated with dancing), the strings (minnim) or stringed instruments, and the ugub, or wood instruments. The name of the tsel-tsel is twice repeated in this Psalm.

The outcome of the whole evidence is to the effect that two descriptions of lyre or guitar were used in the Temple, and that there were different varieties of each description, as regarded the number of strings. The sound of these, and of the trumpets, horns, and pipes, when the latter were used, was timed by a great instrument of percussion, of which it is possible that a representation is given in an otherwise unexplained coin of Herod the Great. (See Plate II., Figure 10). But on the Feast of Tabernacles other instruments, among which the tambourine and the cymbals may be enumerated, were allowed to accom-

pany the dancing which took place, by the light of the great lamps, in the Court of the Women.

Another instrument is named in the Talmud to which no distinct reference has been found in the Bible, and as to which the accounts of the Gemara and of the Tosiphta are conflicting. This was the *Magrepha*, which Bartenora says was a large vase; while Maimonides is of opinion that it was an enormous golden shovel, used for removing the ashes of the altar. In this case it would be the vessel otherwise called the *Pesactar*, which contained four English bushels. The sound made by a golden vessel of this size, when dragged down the ascent (*cebesh*) of the altar, or when drawn empty on the marble pavement, would have been most distinctly heard, and entirely different from any other produced within the Temple. In the tract Tamid this sound is said to have been heard as far as Jericho. 'The priest who heard it hastened to worship, the Levite knew that he was summoned to chant, and hastened to his bench (or gallery), and those who had to present themselves for purification hastened to the eastern gate of the Sanctuary.' (Tamid 5. 6.)

With regard to the artistic merit of the sacrificial vessels used in the service of the Temple, they are described, both in the Bible and in the Talmud, as being formed of the precious metals. The actual amount of the wealth thus accumulated, from whatever source we draw the estimate, must have been very large. It is obvious, however, that some very extraordinary misstatement—probably the fault of a copyist—must have crept into that passage of Josephus (8 Ant. 3. 7) which enumerates 10,000 golden tables; 20,000 golden *phalæ* and *spondiæ*; 40,000 silver vessels of the like kind; and 10,000 golden candlesticks. The golden thuribles, or censers, are stated in the same passage at 10,000; the silver thuribles at 50,000; the richly embroidered vestments of the High priest at 1,000; the linen garments of the other priests at 10,000; and the silver trumpets (of which the number of 120 is given in the Talmud as the largest used in the music at a high festival), at 200,000. If any proof be required as to the enormous exaggeration of these figures, it is supplied by the accompanying

statement, that of the *hin* (which we learn from the Mishna was a golden vessel made to contain the holy anointing oil, on the exhaustion of which it was regarded as unlawful to make any to supply its place), there were 20,000 examples in gold, and 40,000 in silver.

We may, however, collect from this passage, as well as from other parts of the Bible and the Talmud, a general idea of the vessels used in the service, and formed of gold, of silver, or of electrum, that ancient and beautiful alloy of the two metals. These were, chargers to carry the flesh of the victims; bowls or basins, without feet or rests, to hold the blood; *oinochoæ*, or rather *lêkythi*, which we may call pitchers or cruets, to hold oil and wine for the sacrifices; *kratêrs*, or goblets, into which the wine would be poured before it was thrown upon the altar; and *pateræ*, or similar vessels, in which the meal of the meal offering was mingled with the oil. There were also the silver thuribles in daily use for the incense-offering; the golden thurible used by the High priest on the Day of Atonement; the golden vessel called *cos*, used for the cleansing of the golden lamp; the two vessels called *teni* and *kupha*, which were the only two in the Temple provided with covers, the first of which was used for removing the ashes from the altar of incense, and the latter for carrying the incense into the Temple for the morning and evening offering. The reason why these vessels were covered was the fear entertained by the priests lest they should smell the perfume (Exodus 30. 38).

With regard to the larger vessels—the incense altar, the golden lamp, and the table of shewbread—their positions within the Temple were such as to allow them to be seen by none, except the priests who drew the daily lot to enter for the services which we have in another chapter described; who were, moreover, enjoined to keep their eyes bent on the ground. Of the brazen laver and the brazen implements for the service of the altar we have little information that can enable us to form a just idea. The seven-branched candlestick, the golden table, the trumpets, and one sacrificial vase, are represented on

the bas-reliefs of the triumphal Arch of Titus, which commemorated the capture of Jerusalem.

The coins give us the only known representation of any others of these sacred vessels. Of these the design is usually extremely rude. The cup, or *kos*, usual on the 'Holy Jerusalem' money, has even been thought to represent the brazen laver. It is sometimes shown with a projecting flat lip all round, sometimes as crowned with a row of balls, and sometimes with a foliated lip. The figure of the vessel which, from its projecting cover, must have been either the *kupha*, or the *teni*, is of the quaintest and most archaic shape. The trumpets are plain tubes, but seem to have had moveable mouth-pieces, as there is some mark of a globular expansion to condense the vapour of the breath. A *Diota*, or two-handled vase, with what we call a gadrooned body, shown on a coin figured by De Saulcy (Plate X. fig. 1) may possibly be the *teni*; but it is not clear whether the projection of the top is meant to represent a lid. In the whole series of coins, the only vessels which evince any approach to the elegant outline of Grecian vases are the *lêkythi*, or pitchers, which are found on some of the coins of Eleasar, and of Simon (presumably Simon II.). It would be rash to attempt to identify these vessels with the splendid offering of King Ptolemy II. to the Temple, in the time of the High priest Eleasar; the more so because the two chief objects of the kind, each 16 inches high, are called *kratêrs*, by Josephus, and the Greek *kratêr* approaches the form of the goblet-shaped vessel which we have called the *kos*. But the occurrence of reeding, or gadrooning, on these vases should be compared with the use of the word *rabdosis* (12 Ant. 2. 10) by the Jewish historian. Greek feeling, at all events, is here evinced by the coins; and the more regular position of the letters, and their inscription, on one coin, in the Greek mode of writing from left to right, betoken the same foreign influence.

With this exception, the only figure on any Hebrew coin that evinces any artistic taste, is the vine-leaf, which so frequently appears on the coins before the time of the Hasmoneans. This emblem is handled with a force and delicacy that

display a high order of artistic merit. It is to a certain extent conventionalised, but is treated with much variety. The Jewish palm tree, and the bunch of grapes, though less happy in their treatment, are of a style far superior to the archaic rudeness of the Temple staters. The ears of barley on a little coin of Agrippa have a good deal of character in their rendering.

In regarding these few extant relics of Art among the Jews, it must be remembered that the highest school of Art was as inflexibly closed to their study as was the pursuit of philosophy or of science. It is foreign to the object of this work to enter into any debate as to the original intent of any precept of the Law of Moses. We have only to regard the institutions of the Pentateuch as they were carried out, under the legislation of the Sanhedrin, at the period of the completion of the Mishna. Thus regarded, the Jew was forbidden (as is the follower of Islam at the present day) to pourtray in any manner any animal form (Exod. 20. 4). Scientific surgery was impossible, in consequence of the utter prevention of any study of anatomy by the rigid rules that regarded pollution from the touch of the dead. Physic was regarded as connected with magic (2 Chron. 16. 12), and such remedies as a lump of figs for a boil, acid held in the mouth for the cure of the toothache, or the wearing about the person the tooth of a fox, extracted from the living animal, as a preservative from that pain, formed the staple of the Jewish pharmacopœia. The administration of the water of jealousy had entirely fallen into disuse at the time of the Evangelists. The highest idea that we can form of any advance of the Jews in those studies which tend to alleviate pain, to counteract disease, and to lengthen human life, occurs in an incidental reference in the tract Sabbath of the Mishna (6. 3) to the wearing of an artificial tooth.

Even with regard to a subject in which the Jews have from time immemorial been regarded as adepts, namely, the manipulation of the precious metals, the analysis made, under the care of Dr. John Evans, the President of the Numismatic Society of London, of five of the 'Holy Jerusalem' coins, denotes the absence of the most ordinary knowledge of the

purity of metal, at all events in the makers of the coins intrusted to that analysis. The specific gravity of four of these pieces varied from 10·146 to 10·527; and the sample actually tested contained 0·676 per cent. of gold; a preparation which is worth more than 10 per cent. of the nominal value of the coin. It is by the light of such facts as these that we must read the glowing accounts given by such writers as Josephus of anything relating to Art among the Jews.

The earliest dated specimen of Aramaic writing at present known, is that on the Diban Stele, or Moabite Stone, which was discovered by the Rev. Mr. Klein in August 1868. The identification of the King of Moab named on this inscription with the Mesha of the 2nd Book of Kings (3. 4) carries back the date of this monument to a period anterior to An. Sac. 3933. Phœnician letters found, together with cuneiform, on weights recovered from Nineveh, are thought by Assyriologists to date within 20 years of this time. The forms of the letters are closely similar in these two distinct records, the chief difference being in the Yod, which on the Nineveh weights has a form that occurs on some of the coins. In both these early types the horns of the Cheth project beyond the body of the letter, and the Shin is in the form of a W. A rounder or more cursive character is displayed by the inscriptions of Eshmunazar, king of Zidon, dated by the Duc de Luynes about An. Sac. 4200, in which the form of the Shin approaches that of the small Greek omega. The Cheth retains its horns, but has three crossbars instead of two. In the coin which bears the name of Eliashib, the Beth, the Yod, and the Shin, more closely resemble the Diban types than do those of the later coins. The Zain on the coins of Eleasar has a square head, such as is nowhere else found, and the Nun on these coins is also a special form. The Shin of Eleasar is almost exactly in the form of the Greek omega. (See Table of Alphabets)

The question of the date of the introduction of the bold square character, which is now usually called Hebrew, is one that has given rise to much discussion. That this character has been exclusively used for the transcription of the sacred rolls since the

time of Ezra is the distinct testimony of the Talmud. In the Gemara on the tract Sanhedrin (f. 21. 22) both the Jerusalem and the Babylon Talmuds speak of the Sacred or Ashuri character, as so called because brought by Ezra from Assyria. But Rabbi Judah derives this word from a root meaning blessed, in which he is supported by the great authority of Maimonides, who regarded the word as implying the sacred character of this mode of writing. Such, perhaps, may have been intended by the expression *Catheh ha-Elohim* (Exod. 32. 16). The connection of the word Ashuri with a root meaning straight, or right (cf. Ps. 33. 4; Deut. 32. 4) is by no means inconsistent with this derivation. The idea that the square letters were in use among the Magi, or Chaldeans of Babylon, is one that has long prevailed, and the Aramaic parts of the Books of Daniel and of Ezra are usually spoken of as Chaldee. But the records of Nineveh and of Babylon are now known to have been written in the cuneiform character, which bears no resemblance whatever to any form of Hebrew, Samaritan, or Aramaic; and the Phœnician or Aramaic writing found in recent Mesopotamian researches has been, (with the exception of inscriptions, regarded as magical, on some *terra cotta* dishes), of the broken, and not of the square type.

It is not safe to attach much weight to that Jewish tradition which identifies the character used on Mount Sinai with the square Hebrew by a reference to the special forms of the Samech, and of the final Mim, which together recur twenty-four times in the Decalogue. On the other hand, we are without the slightest information, either literary or palæographic, of the origin of the square letters, although their forms, with the exception of the Ain, are generally such as to allow of their derivation either from the Aramaic or Phœnician, or from some common ancestral, type. But it is little consistent with the intense veneration for antiquity which characterised the Semitic people to conclude, without some distinct evidence, that at the period of the return from Babylon a change in the character used in writing the sacred rolls of the law could have been introduced.

The date of the Translation of the Law during the High priesthood of Eleasar is considerably within the time as to which we have the distinct testimony of the Mishna that the Ashuri letters were used. But it is still not without interest to remark, that not a few of the various readings in the LXX. version are readily explained as being the results of mistakes between two letters which, in square Hebrew, but not in Aramaic, are closely alike, such as the Daleth and the Resh. A similar remark, which has been made as to the Samaritan Pentateuch, has been used as an argument for the theory of the late date of this version. It may be regarded, on the other hand, as an evidence of the antiquity of the Ashuri writing. It should be observed that the word 'Hebrew' in the Mishna when applied to writing, always means Aramaic (cf. Acts 21. 40; John 19. 20; Yadaim 4. 4).

Precise rules are laid down in the Mishna as to the method of writing the sacred rolls of the Law, and further details are to be found in the additional treatise to the Babylonian Talmud, called Massiketh Sopherim. The material to be used was not to be papyrus, or paper, but either *Gebil*, which is usually translated parchment, but which, from comparison of the existing rolls, it appears, would be more correctly called leather, or *Khalaph* or *Ducsustûs*, which is translated vellum, and which is described as formed of the inner side of the skin of the sheep. The letters were to be of the Ashuri or square form, and written in ink, and not in gold or in colours. The minutest directions are given as to the special mode of breaking the lines, of writing the Divine Name, and of maintaining certain calligraphic peculiarities to which a definite meaning was attached. Among the most interesting of these rules are those for the addition to seven letters, namely, Beth, Vau, Teth, Caph, Ain, Tsadhe, and Shin, of the crowns, or *keraia* of the Evangelists, as to which it was said (Luke 16. 17) that it is more easy for heaven and earth to pass away than for one *keraia* of the Law to fall.

The final seal to the special character of the philosophy and learning of the Jew, as defined by the legislation of the Sanhedrin, is imposed by the 1st Mishna of the 11th chapter of

the judiciary treatise Sanhedrin. Every Israelite, it is there declared, is an heir of immortal life; with the exception of those who deny the resurrection, of those who deny that the Law was given from heaven, and of the Epicurean. Rabbi Akiba adds, that he who reads foreign books is included in the tremendous exception; and Bartenora explains that the foreign books proscribed are those of Aristotle and his followers, the chronicles of Gentile kings, and the amatory verses of the poets. The injunction of Scripture on the subject was declared by another great Rabbi from the 2nd verse of the 1st Psalm. The man who is there described as blessed is one who meditates day and night in the Law of the Lord. 'Find the hour which is neither day nor night, and in that you may without offence study heathen writings.'

TABLE XVII.

DESCRIPTION OF JEWISH COINS. PERIOD AN. SAC.
4375 TO AN. SAC. 4904.

PLATE I.

DATE.
AN. SAC.
about

1. COPPER COIN.

4375 *Obverse*: ALISB HCHN, 'Eliashib the Priest,' with palm tree.

Reverse: SNT AHT LGULT. 'Year one, For redemption,' with bunch of grapes. Probably a *Shemun*, or twelfth part of an *Asper* (p. 65), of Eliashib.

2. COPPER COIN.

4529 *Obv.*: ALOZR HCHN. 'Eleazar the Priest,' with palm tree.

Rev.: SNT AHT LGULT ISR, with bunch of grapes. 'Year one, For redemption, Israel.' *Shemun* of Eleazar II.

3. COPPER COIN.

Obv.: Kupha, or covered vase. SNT SLVS. 'Year three.'

Rev.: Vine leaf. HRUT ZIUN. 'Stamp, Zion.' Anonymous *Shemun*.

4. SILVER COIN (109 grains).

Obv.: Kos, or goblet. HZI HSKL A. 'Half shekel. One.'

Rev.: Triple flower. IRUSLM KDSH. 'Jerusalem, Holy.' A half *Stater* of the Temple money. First year of the week. (Shekel of the Sanctuary.)

DATE.
An. Sac.
about

5. SILVER COIN (49·4 grains).

- 4529 *Obv.*: Legah or O Inochoe. A L — R H C U H N, 'Eleasar the Priest.'
Rev.: Within a wreath (hole) M O (for Shemo), 'money.' A quarter *Elah* of Eleasar II.

6. COPPER COIN.

- 4667 *Obv.*: S M O U N (N) S I A I S R A L. 'Simon, Prince, Israel,' with palm tree.
Rev.: — H T L G A L T I S R A L. 'Year one, For redemption, Israel,' with vine leaf. *Hadres*, or third of an *Asper*, of Simon the Ethnarch.

PLATE II.

7. COPPER COIN.

- 4700 *Obv.*: Double cornucopia.
Rev.: I H U K N N H C H N H G D L U K H B R H L H D I M.
'Johanan the Great Priest, and Chief of the Jews.'
Anika, or small coin of little value, of John Hyrcanus.

NOTE.—The coins of 'Jehuda, Great Priest and Chief of the Jews' (Aristobulus) closely resembles those of Hyrcanus. Coins of 'Jonathan, Great Priest and Chief of the Jews' of type similar to the foregoing exist. Bilingual coins commence with this prince as 'Alexander the King.'

8. COPPER COIN.

- 4706 *Obv.*: Golden Candlestick. A Λ E Ξ A N Δ P O Y B A C I A E Ω C written round. 'Of Alexander the King.'
Rev.: Flower. I H U N T N H M L K. 'The king Jonathan.'
Anika of Alexander Jannæus.

NOTE.—Bilingual coins of Queen Alexandra and of Alexander II. exist, of types similar to those of Alexander I.

DATE.
AN. SAC.
about

9. COPPER COIN.

- 4770 *Obv.*: ΜΤΤΙΗ ΗΧΗΝ Η — ΗΥΔ —. 'Mattathiah the Priest (partly obliterated) Jews,' round a cornucopia.
Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΝΟΥ round a wreath. *Hanitz*, or sixth of an *Asper*, of Antigonous.

10. COPPER COIN.

- 4776 *Obv.*: Tripod, or incense altar, legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. 'Of King Herod,' with monogram and date, Α Γ, 'Year three.'
Rev.: A bell-shaped instrument (possibly the Tsel-tsel), and palm branch. *Hanitz* of Herod the Great.

11. COPPER COIN.

- 4810 *Obv.*: Bunch of grapes. ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. 'Of Herod.'
Rev.: Helmet. ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ. 'Of the Ethnarch.' *Anika* of Archelaus.

12. COPPER COIN.

- 4820 *Obv.*: Palm branch. ΗΡΩΔΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ. Α Α Γ, Year 14.
Rev.: ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑΣ in a wreath. *Hanitz* of Herod the Tetrarch.

13. COPPER COIN.

- 4852 *Obv.*: Umbrella. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ.
Rev.: Three ears of barley in a vase. Α Γ, Year 6. *Shemun* of Herod Agrippa.

NOTE.—Coins of Agrippa exist of a pagan type, bearing a profile, either of Agrippa himself or of the reigning Cæsar, and a figure of Fortune or of Victory on the reverse.

- 4904 Coins of Agrippa II. also bear profiles and Greek legends. The latest date found on any of these coins is ΕΤΟΥ ΕΑ (of the year 35).

PLATE III.

- DATE.
A.D. Sac.
about
4500
14. COPPER COIN. '*Kontrinek*,' or sixteenth part of an *Asper*.
Obv.: S M O U N, written boustrophedon, by palm tree. 'Simon,' probably Simon the Just.
Rev.: L H R U T I R U S. 'For stamp, Jerusalem,' with vine leaf.
15. SILVER COIN. '*Zuza*,' or quarter *Selah*.
 4594 *Obv.*: S M O U N. 'Simon' (with w-shaped Shin) round bunch of grapes. (Probably Simon II.)
Rev.: S B L H R I S R A L. 'Year two, For stamp, Israel,' round reeded or gadrooned *Lêkythus*.
16. SILVER COIN (212 grains). *Rigia* or *Stater*.
Obv.: A Temple. S M O U N. 'Simon.'
Rev.: A Lulab and Ethrog, or palm branch for Feast of Tabernacles and citron, with legend. S B L H R I S R A L. 'Year two, For stamp, Israel.'
17. COPPER COIN.
 4669 *Obv.*: S N T A H T L G A L T I S R —. 'Year one, For redemption, Israel,' round six-stringed lyre.
Rev.: Palm branch within wreath. S M O U N — R A L. Probably Simon, Prince Israel, (round Shin).
18. COPPER COIN.
Obv.: S N T A R B O H Z I. 'Year four. Half,' round two Lulabs and Ethrog.
Rev.: Palm tree between two 'Salim,' or baskets. L G U L T Z I U N. 'For redemption, Zion.'
19. COPPER COIN OF THE PROCURATOR PONTIUS PILATE.
 4839 *Obv.*: T I B E P I O Y K A I C A P O Y. 'Of Tiberius Cæsar' round lituus.
Rev.: A I Z. 'Year 17.' A coin of Pilate, of the year of the Crucifixion.

PLATE IV.

COINS ESPECIALLY NAMED IN THE BIBLE.

GOLD.

DATE.
An. Sac
about

20.

- 4290 The *Darkon* or 'dram' of Nehemiah. (Neh. 7. 70.) A Persian Daric.

Obv. : A king, with bow and spear.

Rev. : An irregular encused square.

SILVER.

21.

The *Zuza*, or quarter shekel, given by Saul to Samuel. (1 Sam. 9. 8.) Silver coin found by Canon Tristram.

Obv. : Two trumpets. S B L I S — A L. 'Year two, For Israel.

Rev. : S M O. 'Money,' within a wreath.

22.

- 4839 The 'image and superscription' of Cæsar. (Matt. 22. 17.) The *Denarius* of the Census, or Roman tribute coin of Tiberius Cæsar, in the 17th year of his tribunate.

Obv. : A profile of Tiberius. Legend, T I C A E S A R D I V I A U G U S T.

Rev. : A *quadrige*. Legend, T R I P O T X V I I. I M P V I I.

23.

- 4839 'Peter's Penny.' (Matt. 17. 24.) The silver *Stater* (see p. 76), being the annual Temple tribute money for two Israelites. 'Jerusalem the Holy. Year two.'

COPPER.

24.

- 4839 The Sparrow's Farthing, or *Assarion*, for which two sparrows were sold. (Matt. 10. 29.) Coin of Simon.

25.

- 4839 The Widow's Mite. (Luke 21. 2.) A *Prutha*, or half *Kontrinek*, the smallest Jewish coin ; legend XALXOYΣ.

CHAPTER IX.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE HEBREWS.

THE institutions of the Mosaic Law contemplate a condition of society in which agricultural and pastoral pursuits form the principal business of the nation. We learn from Josephus that as late as the Herodian age this condition of Jewish society was almost unchanged (*Contra Apion* 1. 12), and that, while trade was as yet undeveloped, the cultivation of the land, the education of children, and the observance of the Law, were considered to be the principal duties of the Israelite nation.

The conservatism of the Semitic character has moreover preserved, even in our own times, a condition of society closely resembling that of the ancient period. In describing briefly the pursuits of the inhabitants of Palestine, in the early times of Abraham or of Joshua, or in the later days of the Herodian epoch, we find so close a resemblance to the manners and occupations of the present Syrian population that we are enabled, by the help of modern institutions, to illustrate very fully the ancient national life. The customs of the modern Jews, living in the holy cities, Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed, are also traceable to remote antiquity; and their ceremonies are probably conducted in very much the same fashion as those of the Biblical period.

It is proposed, therefore, in the present chapter to illustrate the social life of the Israelites from the manners of the modern Jews and of the native inhabitants of Palestine.

There was a very marked division of Hebrew society into two classes, between which no intermediate grade existed. The priests, the Levites, and the chiefs of pure descent, living in the

great towns, formed the educated class of the nation. The peasantry living in country villages, illiterate agriculturists, or semi-nomadic herdsmen, were distinguished by language, by descent, and we may perhaps say by religion, from the higher ranks. Between these two there was no middle or *bourgeois* class, such as in other nations is developed by trade; for trade was non-existent as yet among the Jews, and Jewish literature betrays constantly a horror of the sea which is inconsistent with the pursuit of maritime commerce.

The preceding chapters, referring to the religious customs, science, art, and government, of the nation, relate fully the occupations of the higher classes; and we may confine our attention in the present chapter principally to the life of the peasantry. It has been shown that although the education of children formed one of the most important duties of the Jew, that education was almost entirely confined to the teaching of the Law. At five years of age a boy was taught the Bible, and in later times he learned the Mishna, at ten (*Pirke Aboth* 5. 21). The interminable discussions on the most minute details of the Law and Prophets may be thought to indicate a considerable amount of leisure among the higher classes, whose occupation consisted principally in the observance of religious customs; thus bearing a close resemblance to the somewhat indolent life of the high-born Syrian of the present day.

The establishment of Synagogues throughout the Holy Land tended to the diffusion of such education as was attainable, but it is uncertain at what period these buildings were first erected. According to Jewish writers, the expression 'before the Lord,' occurring in the Book of Samuel (1 Sam. 7. 6) implies such a sanctuary or *Keniseh* as is called Synagogue in the New Testament; and the disposition of these buildings, so that the congregation might face Jerusalem, is inferred from several passages of Scripture (Psalm 28. 2; 1 Kings 8. 29; Dan. 6. 10) although the Galilean synagogues of the 2nd century A.D. are built with the main door on the south. Synagogues, according to the Mishna, are mentioned in the Book of Esther (9. 2), and the system was fully developed in the Herodian period. The

elders (*Parnasim*) of the Synagogue had the power of excommunication (John 9. 34) which the Jerusalem Rabbis still exercise with severity. The principal officers were the *Sheliah* or minister (Luke 4. 20), the *Khazzan*, 'deacon' or clerk, who was also the local schoolmaster, and ten or more *Batlanim*, or 'idle men,' persons whose wealth allowed them to live at leisure, and who therefore undertook to be always present as a representative congregation at every service. The Synagogue ritual was modelled on the Temple liturgy. The *Shema* (Deut. 6. 4) was followed by prayer and by two lessons, one (*Parchâ*) from the Law, the other (*Haphtora*) from the Prophets, with a *De'resh* or 'exposition' (Neh. 8. 8), which was necessary because the Hebrew of the Scriptures was not understood by the lower classes. Special Psalms also formed part of the service.

At the age of 13 years and one day, a Jewish boy became responsible for his own actions; and the ceremony by which he was made a *Bar Mitzuah*, or 'Son of the Commandment,' was performed. Henceforth he undertook to obey the Law, and began to wear the Talith and the phylacteries. On rising in the morning, he washed his hands and face and endued the *Arba Canphoth*, hereafter described. Thrice a day he was obliged, if possible, to visit the Synagogue, when ten religious exercises, including those before mentioned, formed the morning service, three the afternoon, and eight the evening.

The ablutions preceding prayer (like those of the Moslems) were the washing of the hands and feet (John 13. 10). Before morning prayer, a Jew might not enter on any occupation, and he might not even salute anyone while on the way to the Synagogue.

Monday and Thursday were called 'days of justice,' because the tribunals sat on those days, and they were generally chosen for fasts. The fifth and seventh days of the week were also solemn days in the Synagogue.

The Jewish attitude in prayer has probably always been erect; and at the present day the swinging motion of the body of each worshipper, and the high nasal key of intonation, are distinctive features of Synagogue service.

While the religious life thus described was led by the richer class in the country, it seems probable that the peasant population at every period neglected the Law, much as the more ignorant of the Fellahîn now neglect the duties of strict Moslems; a local superstition taking the place of the creed so strictly observed by the higher classes.

The *Hidiut*, or 'ignorant,' as they are called in the Talmud, were in fact a mixed race. The ancient Canaanite population was never exterminated, and the Jews intermarried with Philistines (Neh. 13. 23), Hittites, Ammonites, and Moabites. The children of these marriages spoke a mixed dialect (Neh. 13. 24), and the language of the lower class was the Aramaic (Tal. Bab. Sanhedrin 21 and 22). The dialect now used by the peasantry of Palestine approaches so nearly to the Aramaic, and the customs of the Fellahîn reproduce so closely those of the lower class of the ancient inhabitants of Palestine, as deduced from the incidental notices in the Old Testament, that we are perhaps justified in looking on the existing race as derived from an original Canaanite stock, which has existed from the earliest period of Israelitish history. The Israelites became, in fact, the dominant race in the country, but the hewers of wood and drawers of water were Canaanites; and the prophets predicted a future restoration of Israel when the herdsmen, ploughmen, and vinedressers should still be foreigners (Isaiah 61. 5).

The ancient mythological system of the Canaanites was preserved by this population, and idolatrous shrines not only survived in the country until the fourth century A.D., but may even be said still to exist in the Palestine of our own time. In spite of the injunctions of the Law, commanding the destruction of all idol altars (Exod. 34. 13; Deut. 7. 25 and 26), and in spite of the zeal of many of the kings, idolatry kept a fast hold on the lower classes of the nation.

Baal, the Sun-god, was worshipped throughout Palestine; and his name is coupled with that of Baaltis, or Ashtoreth, the Assyrian Ishtar, or two-horned 'queen of heaven' (Jer. 44. 17); whose symbol was the planet Venus, and whose principal sanc-

tuary was at Sidon (1 Kings 11. 7), though she was also worshipped as far south as Philistia (1 Sam. 31. 10).

The fiery sacrifices of Moloch, described by the Rabbis (Midrash, Ekha 1. 9), are also supposed to be symbolical of an astronomical myth. In two passages of the English version the name Moloch is rendered 'king' (Isaiah 30. 33; Amos 7. 13). In other passages the divinity is called Baal (Jer. 19. 5 and 32. 35). Among the Carthaginians Saturn was worshipped by similar fiery sacrifices of children (Diodorus Siculus 20. 14).

Chemosh, worshipped by the Moabites, was, according to the Jewish writers, symbolized by a black star (Saturn);^{*} and the god Chiun (Amos 5. 26) was a star, no doubt identical with the *Kiwan* of the Arabs, which was also the planet Saturn. The *Hammanim* (rendered 'images' in the English of 2 Chron. 34. 4), were apparently sun images of Baal. The star Remphan, and the Lucifer of Isaiah (14. 12) with the *Mazzaroth* or zodiacal signs, were other objects of the astronomical worship of the Canaanites.

The worship of Hadad or Tammuz—the Syrian Adonis—was connected with the astronomical myth of the return of spring, and resembled the worship of the Egyptian Osiris. Tammuz, slain on Lebanon,¹ was annually mourned (Ezek. 8. 14), and his revival (at the time of the vernal equinox) was celebrated with joyful feasts. St. Jerome informs us that the worship of Tammuz still survived at Bethlehem in his own times.

The worship of the sun, the planets, and the principal fixed stars, was the Arab religion preceding Islam, and still survives among certain tribes. But side by side with this astronomical cult, there existed a grosser Nature worship, which still certainly survives among the Anseiriyeh pagans of Lebanon.

The licentious rites of the Syrian Venus are mentioned in the Old Testament (Deut. 23. 18; 1 Kings 15. 12; 2 Kings 23. 7); and the Prophets inveighed constantly against such practices (Jer. 44. 15; Ezek. 8. 3 and 16. 17; Hosea 9. 10). This, worship, however, still survived in Ascalon in the time of St. Porphyrius.

¹ Selden, *De Diis Syriis*.

The principal deity of this class was Baal Peor (Num. 25. 3), identified by St. Jerome with the classical Priapus. The *Asherah* (rendered 'Grove' in our version) was also apparently a similar emblem, the word being derived from a root meaning to make straight or erect (2 Kings 23. 7).

Among the local deities, Milcom appears to have been identical with Moloch; while of Baal Berith ('Lord of the Covenant,' Judges 8. 33) we know nothing but the name. Dagon, the fish-god, and Derceto, the fish-goddess, were worshipped from an early period in the maritime district of Philistia; and Baal-zebul, 'Lord of Flies,' in the plains, where every species of fly and gnat swarmed in summer; while Ashimah was a deity symbolized, according to the Rabbis, by a goat (Tal. Bab. Sanhedrin 63. 6).

The terms used to define these idols in the Prophetic Books are principally contemptuous epithets, such as 'vanity,' 'filth,' 'fright,' or 'terror.' Other words, meaning 'likeness,' 'shadow,' 'statue,' 'figure,' and 'device,' also occur; but one word *Gillulim* (Ezek. 30. 13) is explained by Gesenius to refer to 'heaps of stones.'

In the Mishna (Aboda Zara 3. 8 and 4. 1) we find notice of the existence of this false worship at a late period; shrines on mountain tops, and under sacred trees, being specified (cf. Deut. 12. 2), and also heaps of stone sacred to the god Markulim (or Mercury). At the present day the shrines of local Sheikhs are placed under large sacred trees, and on hill tops, and the practice of erecting little piles of stone (called *Meshâhed*, or monuments,) at places whence famous sanctuaries are first visible to the pilgrim, may perhaps be connected with the worship of Markulim. The Hebrew word, *Makom*, used to designate the 'places' of the Canaanites (Deut. 12. 2), is still applied under the form *Makâm*, to the shrines consecrated to local divinities, to whom supernatural powers are attributed, and in whose honour the peasantry still offer sacrifices, light lamps, and perform solemn dances.

The belief in magic, necromancy, and evil spirits, existing among the Israelites, is also clearly set forth in the Old Testa-

ment; and the prescriptions of the practical Cabbala are almost identical with the charms and methods of divination now in use among the Syrians and Egyptians. Innumerable superstitions are also rife among the Palestinian Jews, and the belief in evil spirits is traceable in many passages of the Talmud.

From the earliest period of Hebrew history we find Palestine inhabited partly by a settled agricultural population, partly by pastoral tribes apparently nomadic. Thus, while the Patriarchs lived in tents, and were owners of flocks and herds, the families of Hamor at Shechem (Gen. 33. 19), and of Ephron at Hebron (Gen. 23. 17) were possessors of landed property. The district including Gerar, Rehoboth and Beersheba, in which Isaac passed his life, is still inhabited by nomadic tribes, rich in flocks, herds, and camels, which find pasturage in a seemingly bare desert. The Jeshimon, or desert west of the Dead Sea, was inhabited by outlaws, with whom the villagers of the hills made an agreement for the watching of their flocks, in the time of David (1 Sam. 25. 15). And at the present day the villagers in the same way descend into the nomadic districts, to temporary settlements called '*Azabât*, which they occupy by arrangement with the Arabs.

It is to such settlements that the term *Huzoth* or 'outer places' (rendered in our Version 'fields,' Job 5. 10) probably refers. The sheepfold (*Mihla* or *Gederala*) was either a cave (1 Sam. 24. 3) or a place surrounded by a hedge of thorns. Sheds of reeds or rude stone enclosures were also probably used, as they now are, for the cattle feeding in the plains; and towers were constructed for watchmen in the desert districts, where the flocks were fed (2 Chron. 26. 10). Dogs were also employed, as they still are, by the Arabs, to guard the folds (Job 30. 1); and the cattle were fed with a fodder (*Belil*) specially prepared (Job 6. 5). The annual sheepshearing was a time of festivity (1 Sam. 25. 2).

It has been remarked as an apparent paradox, that the Israelites in the Sinaitic Desert were constantly in want of food, though accompanied by large flocks and herds. It will be noticed, however, that in looking back to the good things of

Egypt, they speak only of fish and vegetable food (Num. 11. 5); and those acquainted with Arab life will be aware that the pastoral tribes rarely eat flesh, except on the occasion of great feasts, milk being the only nutriment derived from the very large flocks which they own; while the wool of the sheep, the hair of the goats and camels, and the hides of the cattle, are the products most valuable to the nomadic cowherds. There is thus no difficulty in understanding the exclamation of Moses, 'Shall the flocks and the herds be slain for them to suffice them'? (Num. 11. 22).

The agricultural occupations of the peasantry require rather more detailed notice. Palestine has been celebrated in all ages for three products—corn, wine, and oil; which still continue to be its most valuable crops, and might yet form the basis of great commercial prosperity.

Wheat and barley were the principal corn crops; spelt (Isaiah 28. 25) and millet (Ezek. 4. 9) are also mentioned. Beans, lentiles, and vetches; cummin, melons, cucumbers; leeks, onions, garlic; and 'bitter herbs,' including lettuce and endive, still retain their old Hebrew names, and are still cultivated in Palestine. Three words rendered 'chaff' in the English Version designate respectively grass (Heb. *Hashash*, Arabic *Hashish*), chopped straw (Heb. and Arabic *Tibn*), and chaff (Aram. *Aur*, Arabic *'Awâr*).

The recurrence of the seasons will be found mentioned in another chapter (Part II., Ch. I.). From the Talmudic writings¹ we learn that cultivation was carried on from the Vernal to the Autumnal equinox. The latter half of Tizri (October) was the sowing time; barley was ripe at the Passover; wheat (Exod. 34. 22) at Pentecost; and fruits were gathered in the beginning of Tizri (September). The wave-sheaf was sown seventy days before the Passover. These seasons are those at which the same agricultural operations are carried out at the present day. The ploughing was not deep,² as is specially noted by Pliny, for the rich soil scarcely required to be turned. Cross ploughing is supposed to be mentioned by Isaiah (28. 24); and a harrow or

¹ *Tosaphta*, *Taanith*, 1.

² *Hist. Nat.*, 18. 47.

thorn-bush was employed after the plough. The land was cleared of stones and thorns (Isaiah 5. 2), and was allowed to lie fallow ; but the rotation of crops would probably have been considered an infringement of the Mosaic Law, as to *kilaim* or the mixing of seeds. Manure (Shebiith 3. 2), which is now scarcely ever used, is mentioned in the Old Testament (2 Kings 9. 37, Jer. 9. 22). The burning of stubble, mentioned in Joel (2. 5), is perhaps not to be considered an agricultural operation ; such fires being now frequent in the dry summer from accidental causes. The use of the goad (*Dorban*), the yoke (*Zemeed*) attached to the pole of the plough ; of oxen ; and of two ploughs following one another, are also traceable to the practices of ancient times.

• The barley harvest commenced on the second day of Passover. The corn, reaped in armfuls (Psalm 129. 7) was gathered in stacks which appear to have been dome-shaped, or like our English haycocks. These small stacks are still used in Palestine, and a row of shocks is never seen (Ruth 3. 7). It appears clear that the corn was removed from the field in carts (Amos 2. 13), and in the use of wagons (Gen. 45. 27) and carts the ancient inhabitants were in advance of the present natives, who employ only beasts of burden. Carts are represented in the harvest scenes of Egyptian monuments, and the cart wheels were apparently used for threshing (Isaiah 28. 27).

The threshingfloor (Heb. *Goran*, Arabic *Jurn*) was an open space (Judg. 6. 37) ; the flat surface of a rock near the village generally affording a suitable site. The corn laid on the floor was trampled by oxen, and threshed with the *Moreg* (Arabic *Murej*), a sledge, drawn by a horse or ass, the under side of which is fitted with teeth formed of pieces of basalt let into the wood (cf. Isaiah 28. 28, and 41. 15, 2 Sam. 24. 22). The gleanings of the fields were separately beaten out (Ruth 2. 17).

The corn was winnowed by tossing in the light summer breeze with forks and shovels (Isaiah 30. 24), and was shaken in a sieve (Amos 9. 9). It was stored in underground granaries, like the *Metamir*, or subterranean stores, now found at every village in Palestine (Jer. 41. 8, Joel 1. 17).

It is interesting to notice that the institution of the *Peah*, or corner of the field left unreaped for the poor (Levit. 19. 9), is still preserved among the Fellahîn : they are unable to give any account of its origin, beyond the fact that it is a custom of great antiquity.

The irrigation of fields and gardens, which was not lawful until the *Peah* was gleaned (*Peah* 5. 3), was effected by *Pelagim* or channels which could be stopped with mud to divert the stream. It appears that the expression to 'water with the foot' (Deut. 11. 10) refers to the damming of such channels, with the feet, which is the method now generally adopted.

Herbs of all kinds, vegetables, and fruit trees (pomegranates, figs, apples, apricots, &c.) were cultivated in gardens by the springs, and were regularly irrigated (Cant. 4. 15). The Mishna contains a minute account of the arrangement of the various crops, so as to fulfil the Mosaic ordinance which forbade the mixing of seeds—an interval of at least three furrows being required between the different productions (Kilaim 2. 6).

Grafting was understood (Ezek. 17. 4, Isaiah 17. 10), but was apparently regarded as an infringement of the commandment above mentioned.

The cultivation of the vine was the second important occupation of the peasantry ; and the existence of rock-cut presses in every part of the hills of Palestine shows that this cultivation must have been very extensive. The slopes of Lebanon and Hermon, the Hebron hills, and the mountains south of Samaria, and those in Upper Galilee, still produce good grapes in abundance.

The vineyard was surrounded with hedges and walls (Isaiah 5. 5). A tower was built in it for the watchman, and a wine-press was hewn in the rock (Isaiah 5. 2). According to Pliny¹ the vines were trained on the ground ; but from various passages (Micah 4. 4, Psalm 128. 3) we infer that the vine was trained on trellises and on the walls of houses.

The modern vineyards are built up in steps, with retaining walls, over which the vine falls ; but at Jericho high trellises

¹ *Hist. Nat.*, 17. 35.

are employed, and the walls of houses and roofs of courtyards are sometimes covered with vines.

Near the rock-cut winepresses are often found towers built of rough blocks of large size; the buildings measuring 20 feet on each side and the same in height. The rude stone enclosure walls still often remain; while the wild growth of mastic or oak has covered up the vineyard plot. It is noticeable that several large winepresses are found near Jezreel; perhaps marking the site of the vineyard of Naboth.

The winepress (Heb. *Gath*, Arabic *Ma'aser*) consisted of two or three square basins. The upper, which was large and shallow (Heb. *Pura*), was used for treading. A short channel led to the second or smaller and deeper basin (Heb. *Yekeb*), into which the wine ran and whence it was strained off into a third, and then placed in bottles (Job 32. 19) and pots (Jer. 13. 12).

It is clear from the Talmudic writings that the wine used was fermented and intoxicating. Sweet wine is mentioned (Hosea 4. 11, Micah 6. 15), and strong drink (Isaiah 5. 22). The instance of Nabal is also sufficient to show that drunkenness at feasts was not uncommon among the Israelites.

The olive, which was perhaps the most valuable production of the country, required but little cultivation. The suckers spring naturally round the parent bole (Psalm 128. 3), and a group of young trees takes the place of the decayed trunk. The olives were beaten down with rods (Deut. 24. 20), an injurious practice still common; and the oil was pressed into mills of various kinds (Exod. 27. 20, Micah 6. 15). A great portion of the crop no doubt served for food.

The food of the ancient population appears to have closely resembled that of the modern peasantry. The use of animal food was in great measure restricted to the feast days of the year; though Solomon's table was furnished both with fatted oxen and with game (1 Kings 4. 23). Fish were eaten, though now held in abomination among the Bedawin; but bread, vegetables, and fruit formed the ordinary diet (Judg. 19. 5), the bread being of barley (2 Kings 4. 42), made into cakes,

and leavened. No doubt it was often dipped in oil, as is now the custom; and the leaves of the marshmallow and figs of the sycamore (Amos 7. 14) may be supposed to have formed important articles of food for the poorest classes, as at the present day, with clarified butter, curdled milk (Judg. 4. 19), and eggs.

On the question of Dress we are also able to obtain light by comparison of modern Syrian costumes with the ancient accounts. The extreme simplicity of the peasant, or Arab, garments attests the great antiquity of their origin; and the representations of Semitic captives on Assyrian and Egyptian bas-reliefs show costumes closely approaching those now in use.

The sacrificial dress of the priests consisted of only four articles, to which four others were added by the High priest.

These were, first, a close-fitting garment of linen (*Cetonith*), reaching to the feet, with sleeves tied to the arm; secondly, linen drawers, reaching to the thigh (*Micnasim*); thirdly, a shawl (*Abnet*), of linen, embroidered in colours (Exod. 28. 39, 3 Ant. 7. 2), wound round the body several times, the end hanging to the feet or thrown over the shoulder; fourthly, the head-dress was a turban (*Mitznepheth*), of linen, wound round a linen skull-cap (3 Ant. 7. 3) called *Migbaah* ('bonnet,' Exod. 28. 40). The two together formed a single head-dress. Both priests and congregation were barefoot during the whole of the Temple service.

The four distinctive garments of the High priest were the *Meil* ('robe' in the English Version of Exodus 28. 4), the *Ephod*, the breastplate (*Hoshen*), and the mitre plate (*Zir*). The *Meil* was a seamless robe of blue colour, embroidered in gold and other colours, with holes for neck and arms, and without sleeves. We are also told by Josephus that the garment reached nearly to the feet (5 Wars 5. 7). A border with golden bells and pomegranates was made to the *Meil*, the tinkling of which announced the approach of the wearer (Exod. 39. 25). The *Ephod* was a kind of tabard, embroidered with gold and colours, and having, according to Josephus, sleeves. On the shoulders were fastened two onyx stones; and the breastplate was attached by golden rings and a ribbon to its front. To the

turban of the High priest a golden plate, inscribed 'Holiness to the Lord,' was fastened with a lace of blue. Josephus further describes a triple crown above the turban; but this is not noticed in the Bible, and was probably the diadem given to Jonathan the Hasmonean by King Demetrius, together with a new Meil (13 Ant. 2. 2).

The costume above described—a linen shirt, an upper robe, an embroidered shawl, linen drawers, and a turban—is just that now worn by the families consecrated to the service of the great mosques, in Jerusalem, Hebron, or Damascus.

Two articles of dress distinctive of the profession of Judaism date back to the time of Christ, and probably earlier. These are the *Talith*, and the *Thephillin* or phylacteries.

The *Talith* is a shawl worn over the head in prayer, having fringes called *Tzitzith*, consisting of eight threads, each knotted five times, and having a symbolic meaning. The *Arba Canphoth*, or 'four corners,' is a similar fringed square, worn under the ordinary clothes. These garments are supposed to be mentioned in the Book of Numbers (15. 34); and the 'hem' of the garment of Christ (Matt. 9. 20) was perhaps the *Talith* (cf. Matt. 23. 5).

The *Thephillin* are worn during prayer, as a literal fulfilment of a commandment (Deut. 28. 10). They are small leather boxes, one bound on the forehead and two others on the arms, the latter in four compartments marked outside with the letter Shin (Shaddai). They contain passages of the Law (Deut. 6. 4-9, and 11. 13-21; Exod. 13. 11-16, and 13. 1-10), written on parchment. They are supposed to be the *Tetaphoth* of the Book of Exodus (13. 9-16).

The materials of the ordinary dress of the Jews were linen and goat's, or camel's, hair. The *Cetonith* and the Meil were worn both by men and women: as was the *Tzaniph*, or turban (Isaiah 3. 23 and 42. 3). The *Cetonith Passim*, or 'coat of many colours,' was in the same way worn by both sexes (Gen. 37. 3, 2 Sam. 13. 18), and may be compared to the long dress of blue, with patches of yellow and red, now worn by the peasants of Bethlehem, and to the close-fitting striped robe worn by men

and women alike throughout Palestine. The shirt or Cetonith was so long as to impede the movements, and the loins were girt up by passing the skirt between the legs in front, and tucking it into the girdle (1 Kings 18. 46). The wearing of the Meil seems to have distinguished the rich from the poor, who, as at the present day, wore only one garment (cf. Matt. 10. 10, Luke 9. 3).

Another garment, the *Addereth*, appears to have resembled the 'Abba or cloak now commonly worn, to which the Meil must also have approached in form, if Josephus's description of that garment as having no sleeves is accepted.

The word *Addereth* comes from a root meaning 'to be ample.' In one passage (Zech. 13. 4) an *Addereth* of hair ('rough garment' in Auth. Version) is mentioned, and the 'mantle' of Elijah was an *Addereth* (2 Kings 1. 8, and 2. 13).

The Beda vin headdress, called *Kufeyeh*, is represented on Egyptian bas-reliefs; and from its extreme simplicity—a cloth, folded diagonally and bound to the temples—is no doubt of great antiquity. This headdress is not, however, apparently mentioned in the Bible.

The leather belt (*Ezor*) round the waist (2 Kings 1. 8, Matt. 3. 4) was probably worn by the poorer classes, and a shawl of linen by the richer (Jer. 13. 1), as at the present day. Shoes and sandals were also worn, the latter being a leather sole, fastened, by thongs, to a longer thong passing over the heel and between the great toe and the second toe.

Three distinctive articles of female attire were the *Tzaif*, the *Mitpahath*, and the *Maatapha*. The first (Arabic *Salîf*) was a veil worn by Jewish women in the presence of foreigners or strangers, and also by the Arab women (Sabbath 6. 6; and comment of Bartenora). The second was a cloth or shawl ('veil' in Authorised Version, Ruth 3. 15) of large size, and seems probably to be identical with the head shawl now worn by the peasant women in Palestine, hanging down the back below the waist. This simple headdress is represented in the Assyrian bas-reliefs of the conquests of Sennacherib in

Palestine. The word *Raal* ('muffler' in Auth. Version, *Isaiah* 3. 19) is still used to designate the headdress, including the face veil and the head veil. In the patriarchal age there is no doubt that women were veiled (*Gen.* 24. 65 and 38. 14). The Jewesses of the present day, however, follow the custom of the country to which they belong. Thus, the German Jewesses in Jerusalem wear no veils, while the Mughrabi Jewesses are veiled. The use of the face veil among the Fellahin in Palestine is rare; the corner of the head veil being generally drawn over the mouth by a woman on meeting a man. The *Maatapha* (a word derived from a root meaning 'to envelope')—a garment covering the body, seems to have resembled the *Izar* or cloak now worn by Syrian women out of doors; which is sufficiently ample to entirely conceal the figure. The women's girdles called *Kishurim* resembled the Abnet of the priests, and the feet were shod with shoes of the skin of the Tahash ('badger skins,' *Ezek.* 16. 10)—an animal not certainly identified, but probably the porpoise (Arab. *Takhash*).

The bonnets called *Shebesim*, and the 'round tires like the moon' (*Isaiah* 3. 18), are still worn in Samaria; the bonnet being of stuff, and the tire consisting of silver coins, sewn to a horse-shoe shaped front, and reaching below the ears on either side of the face.

The practices of tatooing the face, and painting the hands with henna, appear also to be very ancient (*2 Kings* 9. 30). The prohibition to shave the head and cut the beard (*Levit.* 19. 27) was probably due to the idolatrous custom of shaving in honour of various deities, as, for instance, Tammuz (cf. *Num.* 6. 1). Herodotus mentions that the Arabs shaved their heads, with the exception of one lock (like the tuft now called *Shûsheh*, left unshaven by the Moslems), in honour of Dionysius Orotal.

Eye-salve is mentioned by *Ezekiel* (23. 40) under its modern name *Kohel*. Scent boxes, musk bottles, false hair, false teeth, and a variety of charms and amulets, are noticed in the *Mishna* (*Sabbath* 6. 3). The jewellery of the Hebrew women (including earrings, nose rings, bracelets, anklets, chains, and rings) appears to have resembled that found in Egyptian tombs, which bears a

close similarity to the native Syrian and Egyptian jewellery of the present time.

It is still more striking to find that the arms and armour used in the time of David are the same as those now in use among the Bedawin. Goliath was arrayed in a coat of mail (*Sirion*), with a bronze or copper helmet (*Kubah*), greaves of bronze (*Mitzhah*) on his legs, and a javelin of bronze (*Cidun*) between his shoulders; his spear head alone was of iron (*Berzel*). His squire bore before him a large shield (*Tzinnah*) (1 Sam. 17. 5). He was also girt with a sword (*Iereb*).

The coat of mail is now made long, reaching beneath the knees, with loose sleeves to the wrist. The sword is slung over one shoulder. The helmet is a sort of bronze skull-cap, with a nose-piece and a spike. The spear, or javelin, and the shield are not now seen, but were in use in the present century, the latter being a round target with a central spike. The long lance now carried by horsemen (Arabic *Rumh*) is mentioned under its present name in the Bible (Num. 25. 7, Judges 5. 3, Jer. 46. 4). The length often exceeds 15 feet; a tuft of ostrich feathers is fitted to the cane staff, just below the long knife-like steel head; and a spike at the butt allows of the spear being set upright in the ground (1 Sam. 25. 7).

The bow (*Kesheth*) and sling (*Kela*) formed important weapons of offence among the Hebrews; and the Arabs are still skilful in the use of the latter, while the former has been superseded by fire-arms.

The social customs of the Hebrews next demand a brief notice.

The birth of children was not celebrated by any festivity (Contra Apion 2. 26); such feasts being, according to Josephus, not permitted by the Law of Moses. The modern Jews¹ inscribe on the walls of the room, when a birth is expected, the names Adam and Eve, with the words 'avaunt Lilith' (a spectre inimical to infants), and below this the names of the angels Senoi, Sansenoi, and Samnangelaph.

On the eighth day, a boy is circumcised, being held by the

¹ See Chiarini, *Prolégomènes de la Version du Talmud*, p. 185.

godfather. The godmother brings the *Mohel* or officiator. The ceremony takes place in the house or in the Synagogue, and two chairs are placed, one for the godfather, the other for the Prophet Elijah, who is supposed to be present invisibly. The name given by the father is bestowed during the ceremony. Girls are named by the minister of the Synagogue a month after birth.

At the age of 18, at the latest (Pirke Aboth 5. 21), a Jew is bound to marry. The ceremony is very simple, the pair being placed on a dais with the Talith spread over them. A cup of wine is handed to them by the Rabbi, or the nearest relation. The bridegroom places a ring on the bride's finger, and says, 'Behold, thou art my spouse according to the rite of Moses and Israel.' The marriage contract is then read. The husband promises to give the dowry specified, and to maintain and cherish his wife. Mutual congratulations between the assembled guests complete the ceremony.

The position of women, both among the modern Jews and Arabs, and in ancient times among the Hebrews, has always been inferior to that which they hold among Aryan nations; but the influence of individual matrons continues, even among the Arabs, to be at times very considerable, for they are admitted in some cases to the councils of the tribes when celebrated for their good sense or tact. Among the Oriental Jews, the women are very ignorant and superstitious; and the extreme facility of divorce renders their position precarious, and causes them constant anxiety and unhappiness.

The Jew was allowed four wives (on the precedent of Jacob's family), but among the lower classes few probably were found rich enough to support more than one. The consent of the girl was asked in accordance with ancient precedent (Gen. 24. 57); and the marriage having been arranged by the parents, sometimes without the bridegroom having seen his bride at all (as is still frequently the custom in the East), the *Mohar*, or dowry, was agreed upon, and a betrothal followed (Ketuboth 5. 2), the term sometimes extending over a whole year (Gen. 24. 55, Judg. 14. 8, Matt. 1. 18). The payment of the *Mohar*

formed, however, the legal bond which united the pair, although the marriage occurred later (Deut. 22. 23).

The principal ceremonies of the wedding-day were the processions of the bridegroom to fetch his bride and that of the bride to her new home. The term *Callah* ('crowned'), applied to a bride, was due to the crown which she wore on this occasion (Ezek. 16. 9-12). These proceedings still form the most important portion of the Syrian or Egyptian marriage ceremonies (cf. Judges 14. 10, Cant. 3. 11).

The feast which followed was sometimes prolonged for seven days (Judges 14. 17), and even the gravest elders danced before the bride during the festivities (Tal. Bab. Ketuboth 16. 6). The use of a signed contract dates back probably to the time of the return from exile, or even earlier (Ezek. 16. 8). The wedding-day is now generally fixed by the Jews at the new moon, on Wednesday or Friday for a girl, and on Thursday for a widow. The ordinary age at which girls are married among the Oriental Jews is a little over 12 years.

The funeral ceremonies of the Hebrews were as simple as those connected with marriage. Extravagant expense and elaborate monuments were not considered lawful (Josephus, *Contra Apion*, 2. 27). The obsequies were performed by the nearest relations; and it was obligatory on passers-by to join the funeral procession, and swell the chorus of lamentation. From a passage in Jeremiah (Jer. 9. 17), it appears that women were hired—as is still the custom—to wail for the dead; and the shrill cries which such mourners now utter are apparently referred to by the Prophet. After the funeral the house was purified, together with its remaining inhabitants. The High priest was forbidden to defile himself by attending the funeral even of his parents (Levit. 21. 10).

Sepulchres were placed outside the city at a distance not less than fifty cubits (*Baba Bathra* 2. 9). It seems doubtful whether it was a Jewish custom to visit the sepulchre, as is the practice of the Moslems, who often make up a family party to pass the day in the cemetery among the family tombs. The graves of Simon the Just, of Joseph, and of Rabbi Simon

bar Jochai, the Cabbalist, are, however, now annually visited by the Jews.

‘When a Jew draws near death,’ says Chiarini,¹ ‘he invites at least ten persons to hear his general confession. He asks pardon of all whom he has offended, receives the blessing of his parents, and gives his blessing to his children and servants. Sometimes public prayer is offered for the sick in the Synagogue, and the sufferer changes his name as a mark of change of life. Those who are present at a death rend their clothes, and all the water in the house and about it is thrown into the street. The corpse is laid on the ground, covered with a cloth, and a lighted candle placed by the head. It is then washed, clothed, and put into a coffin, in which it is taken to the cemetery, which is called “The House of Eternity,”’ (or in our Version, ‘long home.’ Eccles. 12. 5).

With regard to the social manners of the Hebrews, the limits of the present work do not allow any lengthened disquisition. The solemn courtesy so distinctive of Orientals was inculcated upon them by many ordinances of the Law. We do not, however, when comparing these with the ancient Roman statutes, find any parallel to the reverence which was shown to Roman matrons; though the veneration of the aged is expressly enjoined by Moses.

Hebrew hospitality is implied by the institution of the ‘guest chamber’ (1 Sam. 9. 22), which is still, in every Syrian village, kept up at village expense for passing strangers; and by that of the *Malon* (‘a lodging place of wayfaring men,’ Jer. 9. 2), resembling the modern *Khân*, or public inn, built by some rich and charitable person for the use of travellers. In the joyous nature of their feasts, not unfrequently ending in drunkenness, the Hebrews resembled the ancient Egyptians. They had, however, as far as we know, no national sports or games; and the sacred dances of the festivals were probably of the same solemn character as those now common among the Syrian peasantry; while the dancing of David (2 Sam. 6. 20)

¹ *Prolégomènes du Talmud.*

may be compared to that of some of the modern Derwishes when subject to intense religious excitement.

We may, indeed, briefly sum up the subject of Hebrew social life and manners by the conclusion, that in the ways and customs of Syria at the present day a living picture of the more ancient society of Bible times is preserved for our study, affording the most minute illustration of the Sacred Volume.

The question of Jewish Architecture claims, in conclusion, a short notice. According to Josephus, the erection of splendid monuments was contrary to the Law of Moses; and we are not surprised to find that the exploration of Palestine has brought to light scarcely any remains of ancient Jewish architecture having pretensions to beauty of structure or detail.

The earliest habitations of the Israelites were tents, booths, and caves. The tents were black (Cant. 1. 6), and no doubt resembled those of black camel's hair now used by the Bedawin.

From the dimensions given of the various curtains covering the Tabernacle, and from the description of the 'middle bar in the midst of the boards' (Exod. 26. 28) it seems clear that the Sacred Tent had a ridge and a sloping roof—as have the modern Arab tents; but the description is not sufficiently clear to allow of our determining the exact pitch of this roof.

The distinctive mark of a Jewish habitation was the *Mezuza* (Deut. 6. 9 and 11. 20), a kind of amulet like the phylacteries. It consists of a tube of vellum, covered with lead or tin, having the name Shaddai written on the vellum and visible through a slit cut in the outer covering. Inside the tube are scrolls with various texts (Deut. 6. 4-9 and 11. 13-21), occasionally the names of three angels are added.

Jewish houses were built of mud (Job 14. 19), of sun-dried brick (Isaiah 9. 9), and of stone (Levit. 14. 46). The latter probably was used in the hills, the former materials in the plains. Plaster and mortar were employed (Deut. 27. 4, Ezek. 13. 10); and the wood of the sycomore (Isaiah 9. 10), cypress, acacia, cedar, and even sandal wood (1 Kings 10. 12), were used for roofs, doors, and windows; while the interior was sometimes painted with vermilion (Jer. 22. 14).

The houses were often two storeys in height, the upper chamber (*Aleya*) being mentioned in several passages of Scripture (cf. Judges 3. 20, 1 Kings 17. 19, 2 Kings 4. 10, and 23. 12, Dan. 6. 11).

Summer and winter chambers are also noticed (Amos 3. 15, Jer. 36. 22); and the roof, being flat, was used as a sleeping place in summer (1 Sam. 9. 26), a custom still common in Syria, as is also that of erecting booths on the housetops (Neh. 8. 15). The Law of Moses also obliged the Hebrews to surround the roof with a battlement (Deut. 22. 3).

The houses were not scattered singly over the country; but compactly gathered into walled cities (Deut. 6. 10), open towns (Num. 32. 41), and villages (Cant. 7. 12). The curious expression 'daughters' ('villages' in our version, Num. 21. 25) seems to refer to suburbs beyond the city walls. The fortresses were erected on sites naturally of great strength, and their walls often rose above natural precipices or scarps of rock, artificially cut, which still remain, though the masonry above has disappeared.

Only two important examples of ancient Jewish masonry are left to us, namely in the Haram at Jerusalem and in that at Hebron. A full description of the character of the former work will be found in Part II., Chap. VIII.; and it is only necessary here to note that the Temple of Solomon was the work not of Israelite but of hired Phœnician masons, so that the magnificence of the proportions, and the superior finish of these great blocks, can hardly be considered a distinctive feature of native Hebrew architecture; while, from many passages of Scripture we may draw the conclusion, that the ordinary habitations of the Jews did not far surpass either in strength of material or in style those of the modern inhabitants of Palestine.

The sepulchres of the Hebrews are almost the only Jewish monuments of undisputed antiquity now left. The oldest form of tomb consists of a square chamber, about 8 feet on a side, cut in the rock, and entered from the face of a cliff, through a door generally not more than about 2 feet wide and 3 feet high.

From each wall of the chamber a number of parallel tunnels are driven, measuring 6 or 7 feet in length, and about 2 feet in width; the usual number being three in each wall. These tunnels, called *Kokim* or 'excavations' in the Talmud (Baba Bathra 6. 8), were intended to hold one body each, the head being at the further end where a sort of stone pillow is often found. The entrance of each *Koka* was closed by a slab plastered in position. An inner chamber is sometimes reached by crawling through one of the *Kokim*.

In the late tombs of this class sarcophagi seems to have been used; and the recess becomes sufficiently large to hold two sarcophagi side by side, the bodies lying, as before, with the feet to the central chamber. This transition style resembles that of tombs in the Necropolis of Thebes, and we are thus led to enquire whether the Israelites may not have derived the idea of the *Kokim* tombs from Egypt. The *Kokim* of Palestine are not, however, large enough to admit any kind of coffin or sarcophagus.

A second class of Jewish tombs, belonging to the Hasmonean and Herodian times, presents monuments of far greater architectural pretensions. The influence of Greek art is plainly visible in the character of the details; but the work appears in most cases to have been executed by native artists, and often presents a curious mixture of classic conventionality, with Jewish naturalistic representations of the vine or the palm.

To this class of tombs belong the sepulchre of Queen Helena of Adiabene, north of Jerusalem, and the curious monument generally known as Absalom's Tomb (which is probably the sepulchre of King Alexander Jannæus), east of the city. Ionic capitals, rosettes, wreaths, and triglyphs, here occur, with vine leaves and bunches of grapes, the execution being generally rather rude and the measurements irregular. A great many such tombs have been recovered by the Survey Party in Palestine, and the plan is generally the same. A porch or vestibule, some 20 feet long and 10 feet wide and high, is cut in the rock; rock columns, along its front, supporting a rock-cut frieze. The small doorway leads from the vestibule to

a chamber, on either side of which is an arched recess (*Arcosolium*), in which a rocky sarcophagus is cut, parallel to the side of the chamber, so that the bodies lay sideways, instead of at right angles to the direction of the wall.

A transitional style between the tombs with Kokim and those with Loculi or sarcophagi beneath Arcosolia, has already been noticed, namely, that in which the sarcophagus lies end on to the chamber. The substitution of the sarcophagus, marking the influence of Greek or Egyptian customs, certainly took place before the time of Christ—apparently during the period of the Hellenistic movement preceding the Hasmonean revolt. It is interesting to remark, that the Tomb of Christ as described in the Gospels must have belonged to the class of Loculus tomb; for the description of the two angels sitting, ‘one at the head and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain’ (John 20. 12), could not be reconciled with the structure of the Koka.

It is also interesting to notice that the cylindrical rolling stone (Matt. 27. 60), like a millstone or cheese on end, closing the entrance of the tomb, is rarely found with Kokim tombs, but is commonly used with the late Loculi. The older tombs are closed by stone doors, swinging on hinges, or sliding up and down; but the stone rolling in a groove was a comparatively late discovery. The weight of these stones is generally about 6 cwt., and the groove sometimes is so cut that the stone rolled down an inclined plane, closing the small door when at the lowest point, and requiring to be rolled up hill and there wedged up before the tomb could be entered.

The influence of Classic art is even more clearly traceable in the Galilean Synagogues; but as these buildings belong, according to Jewish authority (Isaac Chelo, A.D. 1334), to the second century of our era, they do not require special notice in the present volume.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY LAND.

THE limits of the Holy Land, originally assigned by Moses (Num. 34), extending from Mount Hor and Kadesh Barnea to the 'Entrance to Hamath,' and from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates (Deut. 1. 7), embraced an area of more than 30,000 square miles. This territory included Lebanon and Antilebanon, separated by the plain which extends to Hamath, and which is formed by the rivers Leontes and Orontes, flowing south and north. On the south-east it comprised the great plateau running for 230 miles from Hermon to Mount Hor, and bounded on the west by Jordan, and on the east by the Syrian Desert. Finally, it included Palestine proper, from Dan to Beersheba, being an area of 6,000 square miles, or about the size of the Principality of Wales.

The Palestine watershed ridge may be generally described as a spur of the Antilebanon; and it runs southward through the desert called et-Tih to the triangular peninsula in which rises the granite block of Mount Sinai, 250 miles south of Beersheba.

The main mountain features of the regions above described are—the chain of Lebanon, rising to a height 8,500 feet above the sea at Jebel Sannîn; the Antilebanon (8,700 at Tal'at Mûsa); Hermon (9,200); Jebel Kuleib ('the Hill of Bashan,' Psalm 68. 15), about 5,600, forming the eastern boundary of the Holy Land; Mount Hor (2,360); and the chain of Mount

Sinai, the highest point of which is 8,537 feet above the level of the sea.

The principal hydrographic features of the country are the rivers Leontes and Jordan. The former, rising near Baalbek, flows south-west and west, discharging into the Mediterranean, about 5 miles north of Tyre; and has a total length of some 80 miles. The latter, flowing down from the slopes of Hermon, runs southward for 100 miles, discharging into the Dead Sea, which has a total length of over 46 miles more.

The geological conformation of the country next claims a short notice. The Lebanon and Antilebanon ranges mainly consist of hard crystalline limestone, with an overlying formation of soft white chalk, whence the mountain obtained its name Lebanon, or 'milk white.' The chalk belongs to the same geological period as the European cretaceous deposits, and contains numerous fossils; fish and sharks'-teeth being the most common. The hard underlying limestone is ascribed to the Neocomian period, and is the equivalent of the English greensand. Its principal fossils are numerous ammonites and the shells of gastropods. The same hard crystalline limestone forms the bulk of the Hermon block; while the overlying chalk is visible on the Antilebanon immediately to the north.

The same formations occur throughout Palestine west of Jordan; but in the centre of the country, and on the higher hills of Upper Galilee traces of nummulitic limestone ascribed to the Tertiary period overlie the chalk. About half of the height of Mount Gerizim is formed by this limestone, which is hard, dark, and full of nummulites.

South of Hermon the submarine formations are disturbed by various volcanic outbreaks, the principal centre of which is found in the Lejja district, east of Jordan, where there is a basalt field, having an area of about 500 square miles. The plateau of the Jaulân (Gaulonitis), east of Upper Galilee, is also broken by volcanic cones and craters; while the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and the plateaux and plains west and south-west of the lake are covered with lava. These eruptions have been dated as belonging to the early Tertiary period, and the cretaceous.

formations of Galilee have been all more or less affected by them.

Throughout Palestine proper the chalky formations occur, with the hard underlying limestone often appearing denuded on the surface. South of Hebron the lower bed disappears, and the chalk covers the whole country. The desert of et-Tih, south of Beersheba, consists of the softer cretaceous and tertiary strata, descending in steps towards the Sinaitic desert. North of the ridge of the Serbal the nummulitic limestone again occurs in large masses.

An older formation underlies the hard Neocomian limestone. It appears in Lebanon, and on the east side of the Jordan Valley, opposite Shechem, and it forms Mount Hor and the hills round Petra. This is the Nubian sandstone, which extends south-west across the Arabah, or valley between the Dead Sea and the Red Sea, and appears also in the neighbourhood of Sinai. Igneous formations lie beneath it near Petra; and the chains of Sinai and of the Serbal are formed of different varieties of granitic rock.

The Nubian sandstone, though visible all along the east side of the Dead Sea, and in the Arabah, is never seen west of Jordan; and hence it appears most probable that the Jordan Valley is formed by an immense fault running north and south from the foot of Hermon. The dip of the strata on the west side of the great chasm is invariably directed downwards to the east; and several small supplementary faults are found in parts, with a very violent contortion of the chalk formations, showing that the subsidence took place later than the cretaceous epoch.

This geological question has some bearing on the Biblical narrative. The geological history of the Jordan Valley, and of the Dead Sea, can now be traced; and it is clear that the formation of the latter did not take place within historic times. In the cretaceous period it appears tolerably certain that the Jordan Valley extended to the Red Sea; but shortly after that epoch disturbances, accompanied by the volcanic eruptions above noticed, took place. The watershed of the Arabah was then raised nearly 800 feet above the sea; and the Jordan Valley,

formed by a longitudinal fault, sank to a depth of nearly 1,300 feet below the Mediterranean. A chain of at least four large inland lakes was thus formed, the shores and beds of which may still be traced. As the evaporation increased, these lakes appear to have dried up gradually, leaving raised beaches still existing; so that they are at the present day represented only by the small sheets of water known as the Lake of Merom, the Sea of Galilee, and the Dead Sea.

Such being the scientific history of the valley, it is evident that the theory—unsupported as it is by the words of Scripture—which ascribes the formation of the Dead Sea to the time of the overthrow of the Cities of the Plain is a fallacy; and that those cities were not built on any part of the present bed of the great lake.

The physical conformation of Palestine proper, between Dan and Beersheba, the Jordan, and the Mediterranean, requires a somewhat more detailed description, as being that of the principal theatre of Biblical history.

The area of 6,000 square miles thus included may be divided into five districts, which are described from north to south.—

(1), *Upper Galilee*, has a narrow watershed, rising to an average height of 2,800 feet above the sea, immediately west of the Jordan Valley. Several small plateaux, covered with lava, exist on the west side of this ridge, and long spurs run down to the sea coast, the drainage of the country being mainly north-west. Along the coast extends the narrow plain of Phœnicia. On the north the Leontes flows through a deep and narrow chasm. On the south-east the mountains rise into a rugged and stony ridge, the highest peak of which (Jebel Jermûk) is 4,000 feet above the sea; and from this centre the spurs radiate like a fan west and north-west.

(2), *Lower Galilee* includes several small but distinct districts. A step occurs in the country south of the Jermûk range, and the next block of hills does not exceed about 1,800 feet in height. The formation is here what is known geologically as 'crag and tail,'—the northern and western slopes being

gentle, and those on the south-east steep and sometimes precipitous. West of the Sea of Galilee extends a plateau, covered with basalt, and having an average elevation of some 900 feet above the Mediterranean; while the fertile plain of the Buttauf drains westward from the watershed, and the chalky range of Nazareth bounds the Buttauf on the south.

The maritime plain belonging to Lower Galilee is much broader than that of Phœnicia, and has an average width of 5 miles. The shore line is here indented with the only bay of any importance occurring on the coast of Palestine; namely, the Bay of Acre. This is 9 miles long by 3 miles broad, and is protected on the south by the promontory of Carmel. The last district included in Lower Galilee is the broad Plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon, measuring 14 miles north and south by 9 miles east and west, and having an average elevation of about 250 feet above the sea. This plain is Y-shaped, and formed by a double anticlinal. It is bounded on the east by the range of Gilboa, rising 1,500 feet above the sea, and consisting of white chalk; while on the west a long spur runs out at about the same average elevation with Gilboa, and trends north-west to the ridge of Carmel. The western range consists partly of white chalk hills, partly of rugged ridges. Carmel itself is 12 miles long, 1,740 feet above the sea at the highest point, and 500 at the north-west promontory. It is clothed with brushwood, and has numerous spurs running out on the west of the main ridge.

The soil of the great plain is a rich basaltic loam, and very productive. The drainage is collected at the north-west corner, and passes through a narrow gorge between the Nazareth hills and Carmel. On the north-east of the plain stands the isolated Mount Tabor, an outlier of the Nazareth block of a peculiar domed shape, and thickly clothed on the north with oak woods. Its height is about 1,850 feet above the sea.

(3), *The Hill Country of Samaria and Judæa* is formed by a single anticlinal, the watershed running nearly in the centre between the Jordan Valley and the Mediterranean shore. Throughout this part of the country the Biblical division

into the three districts—Plain, Shephelah (or low hills), and Mountain—is distinctly marked. The lower hills, averaging about 500 feet in height, are of soft chalk. The mountains, rising to between 2,000 and 3,000 feet above the sea, consist of the harder limestone, capped in parts with chalk. They are intersected throughout by innumerable ravines, which are formed by the winter torrents, but are generally dry throughout the greater part of the year.

The principal elevations along the watershed include Mount Ebal, a fine dome-shaped mountain (3076·5) and Mount Gerizim, equally bare and rugged (2848·8), standing north and south of the fertile vale of Shechem. Ebal forms a most conspicuous object all along the Maritime Plain, rising above the general level of the mountain crests. The Samaritans claim that Gerizim is the mountain in the land of Moriah (or Moreh as their version reads), where Abraham offered Isaac. In favour of this view, the fact that it is visible ‘afar off’ (Gen. 22. 4), and is about three or more days’ journey from Beersheba, may be quoted; as also the existence of the plain (or oak) of Moreh at its feet (Gen. 12. 6); but, on the other hand, the Book of Chronicles places Moriah at Jerusalem (2 Chron. 3. 1). South of Gerizim is Mount Salmon (Jebel Suleimân); and east of this block is a small plain called *el-Mukhnah* (‘the Camp’). About 20 miles south of Ebal is another summit, 300 feet higher, now called Tell ‘Asûr,—probably the ancient Baal Hazor (2 Sam. 13. 23). This barren mountain, consisting of hard grey limestone, guards the entrance pass into Judæa, and from its top Mount Hermon is visible at a distance of about 100 miles.

In the neighbourhood of Jerusalem the watershed is lower (2,600 feet), and the soft chalk caps the hills—Olivet consisting almost entirely of this formation. Farther south, the mountains again become higher and more rugged, rising to about 3,500 feet immediately north of Hebron. The western slopes are very steep, and valleys, running north and south, almost separate the Shephelah from the main ridge. The Shephelah hills consist of chalk, the strata lying nearly horizontally, and

unconformably with the hard Neocomian limestone. The valleys of Ajalon, Sorek, and Elah, form the main drains of this part of Palestine, west of the watershed.

South of Hebron a step occurs, and the average level of the watershed falls to 2,600 feet. A great valley, commencing above Hebron, runs southwards for 30 miles to Beersheba, and thence north-west to the sea near Gaza, about an equal distance. The hill spurs radiate from the highest point of the watershed, and sink gradually towards the plain of Philistia on the west and south-west. On the east side of the great valley is a chalky plateau, overlooking the desert which extends west of the Dead Sea, and falling gradually towards a long chalky ridge, which sinks finally into the desert of et-Tih.

The district thus noticed south of Hebron is called Negeb ('dry') in the Bible, translated 'south country' in our Version (Josh. 11. 16). The titles desert (Midbar), low hills (Shephelah), mountain (Har), plain (Arabah), and valley (Einek) complete the list of names for the main features of the country used in the Old Testament (Deut. 1. 7). The plateaux on the east of Jordan are called Mishor or 'downs.'

(4), *The Maritime Plain* (Arabah), south of Mount Carmel, forms a fourth distinct district, including the plain of Sharon and that of Philistia. This district has been formed partly by the denudation of the mountains, partly by the accumulation of sand in dunes along the shore. Towards the south the width has been gradually increased by the deposit of the Nile mud, which is traceable as far north as Gaza. The country presents an undulating surface, with low hillocks of semi-consolidated sand. The soil is naturally fertile, and fitted for agriculture. Deep gulleys intersect the plain, running westwards to the sea, and carrying down the drainage of the mountain system. They have generally high earthen banks, and in some cases contain perennial streams. The neighbourhood of these streams is marshy, especially towards the north of Sharon; and the dunes and marshes together reduce the arable land by about one-fourth. The Maritime Plain is some 80 miles long and from 100 to 200 feet above the sea; with low cliffs near

the coast Towards the north it is 8 miles, and near Gaza 20 miles broad.

(5), *The Jordan Valley* is the fifth district, and physically perhaps the most interesting. From the foot of Hermon, at a level 1,000 feet above the Mediterranean, the valley falls, in 12 miles, to sea level at the Hûleh Lake (Waters of Merom); and thence, in $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles, to the level of the Sea of Galilee (682·5 below the Mediterranean). Thus, in the first section there is a fall of over 60 feet per mile.

The Jordan Valley proper (Arab. *Ghôr* or 'hollow') is reckoned by Josephus only to commence south of the Sea of Galilee. Between this lake and the Dead Sea there is a fall of 610 feet in 65 miles, giving an average of about 9 feet to the mile. Thus the 'break down' of the great chasm may be said to occur north of the Sea of Galilee, where the fall is seven times as great.

The Ghôr between the two lower lakes may be divided into five districts. For 13 miles the valley is at first less than 5 miles broad with precipitous cliffs to the east and west. Next comes the plain of Beisân (Bethshean), evidently the bed of one of the primitive lakes above noticed, where the width increases to 8 miles, and where the broad valley of Jezreel runs down from the Plain of Esdraelon, and forms the gateway leading to Palestine from the east. The chain of Gilboa here forms the western boundary of the Jordan Valley, rising nearly 2,000 feet above the general level of the Beisân plain.

The third district commences 25 miles south of the Sea of Galilee, and extends for 12 miles. The Ghôr is here only 2 or 3 miles wide; and on the west it is bounded by a table-land, rising with cliffs and steep slopes above the valley.

The fourth district, which appears to be the Biblical Valley of Succoth (Emek Succoth), is again wider; measuring 8 miles east and west, and extending southwards to the plains of Jericho. Another broad valley (Wâdy Far'ah), running down from Mount Ebal, here joins the Ghôr; and the remarkable conical mountain called Karn Sartabeh, the Talmudic beacon station

of Sartaba,¹ rises 2,400 feet above the river Jordan, immediately south of Wâdy Far'ah. This valley formed the route followed by Jacob in ascending from Succoth to Shalem (Sâlim), near Shechem (Gen. 33. 18).

The fifth remaining district is that of the plains of Jericho, with the corresponding basin (Ghôr es-Seisabân, the Biblical Abel Shittim or 'acacia meadow,') east of the Jordan. This part of the valley forms a continuation of the Dead Sea basin, at a level about 400 feet higher than the water, and the marks of an ancient lake shore are here traceable all along the foot of the western mountains. The district measures 14 miles east and west and 8 miles north and south. The mountains on either side rise about 4,000 feet above the Ghôr.

Various terms are used in the Old Testament in describing parts of the Jordan Valley. 'The plain of the valley of Jericho' (Ciccar Bikath Irecho, Deut. 34. 3). 'The plains of Jericho' (Araboth, Josh. 4. 13). 'The vale of Siddim (Emek has-Siddim, Gen. 14. 3), which is the Salt Sea.' 'The valley of Succoth' (Emek Succoth, Psalm 108. 7); and 'the plains of Jordan' (Ciccar, 2 Chron. 4. 17). Of these terms the most important is the last mentioned, which is used distinctively as describing the Jordan Valley. The word means 'round,' and is supposed to be equivalent to the Greek word rendered 'region round about' Jordan (Matt. 3. 5). The Cities of the Plain were cities of the Ciccar, and it is important to notice that the term applies at least as far north as the Succoth region (2 Chron. 4. 17), and does not simply include the plain of Jericho.

But one corner of Palestine remains to be noticed—the dreary desert which extends between the Dead Sea and the Hebron mountains. It is called Jeshimon or 'solitude' in the Old Testament (1 Sam. 23. 19), and 'Wilderness of Judæa' in the New (Matt. 3. 1). It is a plateau of white chalk, 2,000 feet lower than the watershed, and terminated on the east by cliffs which rise vertically from the Dead Sea shore to a height of about 2,000 feet. The scenery is barren, and wild beyond all description. The chalky ridges are scored by innumerable

¹ *Mishna, Rosh-Hashanah*, 2. 1.

torrents, and their narrow crests are separated by broad flat valleys. Peaks and knolls of fantastic forms rise suddenly from the swelling downs, and magnificent precipices of ruddy limestone stand up like fortress walls above the sea. Not a tree nor a spring is visible in the waste; and only the desert partridge and the ibex are found ranging the solitude. It was in this pathless desert that David found refuge from Saul's persecution; and the same has been a place of retreat from the days of Christ to the present time.

The hydrographic features of Palestine next claim attention; including its rivers, springs, and winter-torrents with the thermal sources of the Jordan Valley. It may here be noted that there is no valid reason for supposing that any great change has occurred in the water supply of the country since Biblical times. The famous springs of Scripture can all be identified, and have still a good supply of water. The rivers are still perennial, and the 'depths' (Deut. 8. 7) are recognised in the fathomless pools from which such streams as the Abana (now Barada), near Damascus spring up full-grown rivers, almost as broad at their sources as at their mouths. The districts called 'dry' or 'desert' in the Bible (the wildernesses of Beth-aven or of Judah, for instance) are now as desolate as of old, and the porous character of the chalk formation renders it a physical impossibility that these regions can ever have been fertile or well watered, within the period of man's existence on earth. We have no good reason for supposing that any great change has occurred in the rainfall of the country; and we have positive evidence that water was scarce in ancient times, in the existence of numerous rock-cut cisterns and reservoirs, which date back to the Jewish period, and which are found throughout Palestine in the chalk districts where no springs occur.

Palestine has at the present day twelve perennial streams, in addition to the Jordan and the Leontes; of which four are affluents of the Jordan and eight flow into the Mediterranean. Before enumerating these, however, some details of the course and character of the Jordan itself may first be given.

The River Jordan ('the descender') is formed by the junction of three streams. The highest source is that near Hasbeiya on Hermon, whence the stream Nahr Hasbâny flows southwards some 15 miles to the junction. The volume of water in this longer feeder is less than that in either of the other two. At Tell el-Kady (the supposed site of Dan) are two springs; the one west of the mound being perhaps the largest in Palestine. The stream flowing thence is called Nahr Leddân. The third source rises in the grotto at Bâniâs, whence the river runs through thickets and canebrakes, falling in cascades, and joining the Nahr Leddân after a course of about 5 miles. The united stream is swelled by that of the Hasbâny a little farther south. By the Jews the spring at Bâniâs has always been accounted the true source of the river.

The stream of the Jordan thus formed is soon lost in the swamps which extend north of the Hûleh lake. The river is here divided into several channels, and flows through beds of the Egyptian papyrus. The Hûleh lake (Waters of Merom) is 4 miles long; and south of this the stream runs rapidly, falling 60 feet per mile, to the Sea of Galilee.

This famous Sea, in length about equal to our English Windermere ($12\frac{1}{2}$ miles), is pear-shaped, with a maximum width of 8 miles. It is surrounded with precipices of limestone, except on the north, where a shelving slope leads to the shore, from a plateau of basalt extending from the foot of the highest range of Upper Galilee. The scenery of the lake is bare, and much tamer than that of the Dead Sea. The beach is narrow, except on the north-west, where the cliffs recede, leaving a fertile plain (Gennesaret), $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long and 1 mile broad, watered by several fine springs. The pebbly open shore on the north is broken into numerous bays, and is fringed with dark oleander bushes. On the south-eastern side is a palm grove, and a few palms dot the western shore. The ruddy cliffs on the west, and the steep slopes on the east, are bare and desolate; but the sweet waters of the lake, in calm weather mirroring the surrounding hills, and shining in the sun, present a beautiful scene, especially in the evening. The Sea is remarkable for its shoals

of fish, for the violence of its sudden thunderstorms, and for the hot springs along the shore. The neighbourhood of the lake is also peculiarly subject to volcanic disturbances.

The Jordan leaves the Sea of Galilee at the level of 682·5 feet below the Mediterranean, and commences to run through a trench in the valley, which becomes deeper as the distance increases, forming at length a deeper valley (called *Zôr*, or 'depression,' in Arabic) within the original valley. The *Zôr* becomes a basin over a mile wide, and 200 feet deep, near Jericho; the sides being formed by cliffs of white marl; while the stream itself in summer occupies a lower channel, and in spring 'overflows its banks' (in February and March), and sometimes floods the *Zôr* completely, making a sheet of water a mile in width.

The fall of the stream, after passing the Sea of Galilee, is at first over 40 feet per mile. In the neighbourhood of Beisân there are a great number of fords, and in one place a small rapid. The stream is generally hidden between thickets of tamarisk and willow; and its course is so contorted that in some places it flows almost due north. The white cliffs project at the salients above the water; but as a rule, there is a small corresponding flat basin on the opposite side.

South-west of the Beisân plain Wâdy Mâleh, the first salt affluent, joins the river; and south of the Succoth region salt springs and salt marshes occupy the whole of the immediate neighbourhood of the stream. The average fall of the Jordan, between the Sea of Galilee and the ford of ed-Dâmeh, opposite the Karn Sartabeh mountain, is 10 feet to the mile; below this point it is only from 4 to 9 feet per mile.

The ford of ed-Dâmeh is probably that by which Jacob crossed from Succoth (Gen. 33. 17) on his way to Shechem; and the name probably preserves that of Adam the city 'beside' which the waters of the Jordan were heaped on the occasion of the passage of the Israelites (Josh. 3. 16).

Below the ford, by which are ruins of a bridge (the fourth along the course of the river) the stream becomes deeper and broader. The fords are consequently fewer, and the most im-

portant one between the Dâmeḥ and the Dead Sea is that opposite Jericho. The river in the latter part of its course has an average width of 30 yards in summer, and is completely hidden in a tamarisk swamp and cane brake until it reaches the immediate neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, where it forms a kind of oasis of mud and drift wood.

The Dead Sea, called in the Bible 'Sea of the Arabah,' or 'Salt Sea,' is about 46 miles in length, with an average width of 10 miles. The depression may be stated at 1,290 feet below the Mediterranean, when the sea is at its fullest, and the difference of level between summer and winter is variously stated at from 10 to 15 feet. The ancient beaches traceable above the water-line and above that of the driftwood brought down by the Jordan freshets seem to show a gradual contraction of the area of the sea; but, on the other hand, the ford near the southern end, which was passable 50 years since, is said never to be now sufficiently shallow even for camels. The Dead Sea is deepest towards its eastern shore, where the mountains rise abruptly from the water; and the lowest sounding taken is over 1,200 feet. On the south the Lake is, however, extremely shallow; having an average depth of only 10 or 12 feet. A long low bank of marl, called el-Lisân, 'the tongue,' here projects into the Lake from the eastern shore.

In length the Dead Sea is about equal to the Lake of Geneva, which it is thought to resemble in scenery. The rugged chains which rise 4,000 feet on either side, with fine precipitous cliffs and innumerable water-courses; the palm groves along the eastern shore; and the cane brakes surrounding the larger springs on the stony beach, form remarkably wild and sternly picturesque scenes, contrasting with the generally tame scenery of other parts of Palestine. But the absence of vegetation, as well as of animal life, gives an impression of extreme desolation to the view.

The Dead Sea receives the water of the Jordan and its affluents, and maintains its level by the excessive evaporation which causes a thick haze to hang over the water throughout the hot season. The water is extremely salt, containing 26 per

cent. of solid matter; of which half is common salt, and a large proportion chloride of magnesium, giving it a peculiarly nauseous taste. The driftwood on the shore is coated with white salt, and the pools left by the waves crystallise almost immediately. These chlorides are collected from the whole basin through which the Jordan flows, especially from the lower part of the valley, the bed of a former salt lake.

On the south-west shore is Jebel Usdum (the mediæval site of Sodom), a mountain principally composed of salt.

The Dead Sea bitumen, mentioned by Josephus and in the Mishna, is still found at times on the shore. In Hebrew it is called *Hemar*, translated 'slime,' in the English version (Gen. 14. 10) equivalent to the Arabic word for bitumen (*Homr*); and it has been conjectured that the slime-pits (*Baroth Hemar*, or 'bitumen wells') of the Vale of Siddim were petroleum springs, such as are suspected to exist still on the east side of the Dead Sea.

The main affluents of the Jordan are four in number; two east and two west of the river. In addition to these, two other main water-courses discharge into the Dead Sea from the east. The two western affluents are the Jaldid river, bringing down a perennial supply from the fine springs which rise beneath Gilboa and in the neighbourhood of Bethshean; and the Fâr'ah, which is fed by a long chain of springs rising beneath Mount Ebal and along the course of the valley, which probably represents the New Testament waters of Ænon (John 3. 23). The eastern affluents are (1st) the Yermûk or Hieromax, which drains the great plateau of the Haurân, and descending through a deep gorge of white limestone falls into the Jordan between the Sea of Galilee and Bethshean. (2nd) The Zerka or Jabbok, which descends from Mount Gilead in the Succoth region of the valley. The main streams east of the Dead Sea are (1st) the Zerka M'ain, a brook descending a steep gorge, which is clothed with a luxuriant vegetation and dotted with palms. (3rd) The Mojib or Arnon, about the middle of the eastern shore. In the valley of the Zerka M'ain are the hot springs of Callirrhoe (142° Fahr.), which send forth clouds of steam, issuing between the sand-

stone and limestone formations. The neighbourhood of this gorge is also marked by a considerable basaltic outbreak.

Of the remaining perennial streams in Palestine the Kishon (Nahr el-Mukatta') is the most important. It receives the drainage of the whole basin of the Esdraelon plain, and has two principal sources: the one west of the plain at the ruin of Lejjûn (ancient Legio); the other on the north-east, near the foot of Tabor. From the latter a stream runs west about 7 miles, and many springs occur along its course. It is joined by the southern stream, eight miles long, also fed by the numerous smaller springs. The river formed by these two brooks is narrow, but almost impassable; the bed being muddy and treacherous. Though insignificant in appearance, the Kishon proved as fatal to the Turkish troops defeated by Napoleon as to the army of Sisera. From the junction of the two feeders, the Kishon flows north-west for 15 miles beneath the ridge of Carmel. At its mouth it is about 20 yards wide, and only fordable at the bar formed where it debouches in the sea. In summer the mouth is generally closed with sand; the stream being sluggish, and often drying up in places so as to leave only a chain of large pools.

The Belus river (Nahr Nam'ain) near Acre is a smaller stream, rising in the marshes, and flowing north for about 5 miles. A picturesque belt of palms occurs at its mouth. North of this, the principal stream is the Nahr Mefshûkh, descending from the hills of Upper Galilee through a gorge full of springs.

The plain of Sharon has five perennial streams flowing through it to the Mediterranean. At the north end of the plain is the Zerka, or Crocodile river, flowing through cane-brakes and papyrus marshes. Next in order come the Akhdar ('green'), the I-kanderûneh, and the Fâlik or 'cloven' river, so named from the artificial passage through the ridge which exists near the shore, and which gave the name Roche Taillé to the same stream in the Middle Ages. The fifth river is the largest, being scarcely fordable at the mouth in winter. It springs from the fine sources at Râs el-'Ain (Antipatris), and

flows between high sandy banks. It is now called Nahr el-'Aûja ('crooked river'), but appears to be the Me-jarkon or 'yellow water' of the Old Testament (Josh. 19. 46)—a name suiting well the turbid character of the stream.

From the above description it will be clear that Palestine is by no means ill supplied with water. The distribution of the supply is, however, very irregular. The Judæan Desert is almost entirely devoid of water, except that obtained from wells and cisterns, which is generally salt and sulphurous. The higher mountains, especially in the neighbourhood of Hebron and Shechem, and in Galilee, are well supplied with copious springs; but the low hills of the Shephelah have but very few. The junction of the hard and soft strata is the usual place for the rise of the water flowing beneath the porous beds; and very few springs rise in the Maritime Plain at any distance from the hills. The valley of Jezreel round Bethshean; the neighbourhood of Bâniâs; the west side of the Plain of Esdraelon, and the vale of Shechem, are the best watered districts in Palestine.

In concluding this sketch of the hydrographic features of the country, the hot springs of the Jordan Valley must not be forgotten. In Hebrew the word *Hammath* is used to denote such thermal sources; and according to St. Jerome the *Yemim* (translated 'mules' in the Auth. Ver.) found by Anah in the wilderness (Gen. 36. 24) were hot springs. In addition to those of Callirrhoe (142° Fahr.), the most famous hot springs are found near Tiberias (137° Fahr.), and east of Jordan at Gadara or Umm Keis, where the water is sulphurous, with a temperature 107° Fahr. There are many smaller sources round the shores of the Sea of Galilee, in the Valley of Jezreel, and in Wâdy Mâleh, varying from 70° to 100° Fahr.; and hot sulphur springs are also found on the west shore of the Dead Sea.

The present account of the main physical features of the Holy Land may be supplemented by a sketch of its climate and natural productions. The question of ancient and modern cultivation has, however, been treated in a former chapter (Part I. Chap. IX.).

The present climate of Palestine is trying and unhealthy ; but this appears to be the result of the neglected condition of the country, rather than of any great climatic change. The summer heat ranges between 100° Fahr. in the plains and 85° Fahr. in the mountains, as a maximum temperature in the shade. The winter temperature in the plains does not fall to freezing point, though in the mountains frost and snow are of frequent occurrence. The hottest month of the year is August ; but even in this month there is a range of about 30° Fahr. between the midday and the midnight readings of the thermometer, except when the wind blows from the Eastern desert. The western breeze from the sea renders the heat far less oppressive ; and the months of June and July, though hot, are generally healthy, as the east wind does not then prevail. The east wind is mentioned in Scripture, but it appears to be doubtful whether the term 'Kadim' is to be understood as really indicating the direction, or whether it should be rendered as 'confronting' or 'contrary'—a question which bears directly on that of the place where Israel crossed the waters of the Red Sea.

The heavy dews which fertilise the soil in Palestine, and which drop like rain from the roofs in early morning, are also noticed in the Bible (Cant. 5. 2), as are the snows and frosts which yearly occur in the mountains (Psalm 147. 16, 17, Job 38. 30). The 'former rain' (Deut. 11. 14, Joel 2. 23) and the 'latter rain in the first month' are no doubt to be understood as being the rains which fall at the autumnal and vernal equinoxes, and which commence and terminate the wet season ; but storms still occur occasionally in the harvest time (1 Sam. 12. 17). As to the comparative amount of the rainfall at the present day and in the times of the Old Testament we have no exact information ; but the 18 or 20 inches which now fall annually would be quite sufficient for the requirements of the country, if stored in the ancient cisterns now allowed to lie in ruins. Years of scarcity occur, however, now as of old in Palestine.

From the Mishna (Taanith 1) we gather that the seasons are unchanged within the last 2,000 years, and that the rains

occur at the same times as formerly. There is, therefore, no very good reason for supposing that the climate has undergone any great change, beyond the gradual increase of miasma, due to imperfect cultivation, and to the want of proper drainage and irrigation.

Earthquakes are of frequent occurrence in Palestine, especially in Galilee. In 1837 Safed and Tiberias were destroyed by a severe shock; and in 1875 even the inhabitants of Jerusalem were alarmed by a slight earthquake (Zech. 14. 5).

The Fauna and Flora of the Holy Land may be divided into three principal groups. The maritime region is a district, the productions of which belong to the Mediterranean fauna and flora. In the hills the natural products are Oriental, and in the Jordan Valley subtropical. We might add to this an almost Arctic region, on Hermon and the higher parts of Lebanon; giving a very wide range of species within the small area of the Holy Land.

It is not proposed to make any attempt to treat exhaustively the question of the Flora of modern Palestine, or to enter into a discussion as to the Biblical notices of that of the more ancient period. The names of no less than 120 species of plants are noticed in the Old Testament; but many of these are not properly identified as yet. A few notes on the more important names may, however, be of value.

Three words are commonly employed in the Hebrew to describe the natural growth of the country:—*Etz*, a strong tree; *Choresch*, a copse; and *Par*, a thicket. There is no title which necessarily implies the idea of a forest of timber trees; though the existence of single trees of some size, many of which were apparently held sacred, is often noticed in the Bible. The trees mentioned in the Old Testament are without exception trees still found in Palestine. The oak, the terebinth, the fig, the olive, the cypress, the cedar, the sycamore, the acacia, the pine tree, the box, and the palm, are the principal species. Woods of oak of moderate size, with more or less underwood, exist still in the hills west of Nazareth, on the north side of Mount Tabor, and in the plain of Sharon; but the annual

destruction of trees for firewood threatens in time to reduce these to the same condition with the ancient forest near Jaffa, which now consists only of low bushes springing from the roots of former timber trees. The cedars on Lebanon are also reduced in number, the young shoots being eaten by the goats, and the older trees sometimes used for fuel. But forests of cedar, as yet scarcely visited, exist farther north, showing the soil and climate to be still fitted for the growth of the tree.

The terebinth (*Botnim* Heb. pl., *Butm* Arab.) is one of the most remarkable trees of the country. It is the *Pistachio Terebinthus* of botanists, and grows as a single tree about as large as a middle-sized oak. Of the oak (Heb. *Elon*, Aram. *Ballut*, Arab. *Ballât*) three species exist in Palestine, including *Quercus Agilops*, which becomes a good-sized tree, and *Quercus Infectoria*, which is merely a bush. The locust tree or *Ceratonia Siliqua* (Arabic *Kharrûb*), is also of frequent occurrence; its pods being supposed to have been the 'husks' eaten by the prodigal (Luke 15. 16). The sycomore (Heb. *Shikmin*) is common in the low hills and in the plain; and the tamarisk, willow, hawthorn, ash, elder, plane, and arbutus, also occur, with the poplar, and the wild olive (Arabic *'Azzun*, Heb. *Etz Shemen*, Neh. 8. 15), rendered 'pine' in the English Version. (See pp. 396-99.)

The Shittim wood used in the construction of the Tabernacle (Exod. 36. 20) appears to have been the acacia or *Zizyphus* (Arabic, *Sunt*), now common in the Jordan Valley; and a species of tamarisk, called Ashal (Arabic, *Ithleh*), is also mentioned. The balm of Gilead and of Engedi is identified with the thorny *Zakkûm* (*Balanites Aegyptiaca*), bearing a berry with a stone, from which is extracted an oil still considered by the Arabs as a specific for wounds.

The famous vine of Sodom (Deut. 32. 32) seems without doubt to be the curicus 'Osher (*Asclepias procera*), now found near Engedi, bearing a fruit like a lemon, consisting mainly of pith; while the 'Juniper' of the English Version (Hebrew *Rotham*) is the beautiful Retem broom (*Genista Retem*), which lights up the desert with its delicate white blossom. Among

the smaller shrubs, the most important is the Copher ('Camphire' Auth. Ver., Cant. 1. 14), which is identified with the Henna bush (*Lawsonia inermis*), whence the pink dye used for the hands and hair is obtained. The Caper (*Capparis spinosa*) is also still found; and the aphrodisiac qualities ascribed to the Mandrake in the Bible (Gen. 30. 14), are still believed by the Arabs to distinguish that plant. 'Wild gourds' (*Fak'ath* in Heb.) are mentioned in 2 Kings 4. 39; and the word *Fuk'a* is still in use in Arabic. The word translated 'gourd,' in Jonah 4. 6, is, however, a different one, and there has been much dispute as to the true meaning of the term 'Kikion.' The Jews themselves render it by the word 'Ker'a,' which is evidently the same as the Arabic *Ker'a*—a species of gourd. Palestine is remarkable for the variety of its cucumaceous vegetables, and for the great rapidity of their growth.

The hyssop growing on the wall appears to be the plant called 'Adhab, or Miriamin,' by the Syrians, found generally in crumbling ruins, and used for all the purposes mentioned in the Bible and Mishna in their references to the hyssop. The Rose of Sharon (Heb. *Chabutzalet*; Chaldee, *Narkus*) is best identified with the white Narcissus, which grows abundantly in the plains (Arab. *Busril* and *Runjus*); for the rose does not grow wild, except on the heights of Lebanon, and is never found in the Maritime Plain. The Lily of the Valleys (*Shushaneth ha-Emekim*) is probably the blue Iris (Arabic, *Zembaktyeh*), which is also of common occurrence. Finally, the growth of brambles, and thistles of enormous dimensions, recalls the imagery of the Old Testament parables (Judges 9. 14; 2 Kings 14. 9).

Turning next to the Fauna of the country, we may notice briefly the more important species mentioned in the Bible, commencing with the Mammalia. Of the clean beasts eaten by the Jews, the ox, goat, and sheep require no special mention, beyond the interesting note, that the 'fat of the kidneys' of rams (Isaiah 34. 6), is probably to be rendered the 'tail' of the rams belonging to a peculiar breed having beneath the tail a large mass of fat. Most readers will have heard of the fat-tailed

Syrian sheep. This part of the animal is still considered a delicacy in Palestine.

The horse, the mule, the ass, the camel, and the dromedary, may likewise be passed over with a bare mention; but the true meaning of the terms denoting various wild animals of the bovine and cervine groups requires rather a more detailed notice.

First among these comes the *Rim*, which appears in the English Version as the 'Unicorn.' By a curiously inverted reasoning the existence of this fabulous beast has been supposed to be proved by its being mentioned in the Bible; but it is to the Greek translator, not to the Hebrew author, that we owe the invention. It has lately been shown by means of the Assyrian bas-reliefs, that the *Rim* was a species of wild ox, now extinct in Palestine, but which used to be hunted by the Assyrian monarchs. One of these animals is sculptured, with the name—*Rim*—written above it in cuneiform characters. In modern Arabic the word is now used to denote the fallow deer; but it appears certain that the *Rim* of the Psalms and the Prophets was a species of the bovine family now extinct in Palestine: perhaps resembling the buffalo, which though now common in certain districts, is not indigenous to the country.

A second animal of the same group is the *To*, or 'wild bull,' (Deut. 14. 5; Isaiah 51. 20), which was also a beast of chase. The species is, however, doubtful (see p. 390). The Bulls of Bashan (*Parim*) were probably merely a fine breed of domesticated cattle.

The 'Hart' of the Authorised Version (Heb. *Aiyal*) is in reality the fallow deer; for the red deer does not exist in Palestine, nor is it likely that the country ever presented a suitable habitat for this large species. The 'Roebuck' of the English translation (Heb. *Tzebi*) is also generally recognised to be one of the two species of gazelles common in the country; and the Pygarg, or 'white rump' (Heb. *Dishon*) is probably the other—possibly the *Gazella Dorcas*, which presents a broad white band on the rump, specially noticeable when seen in flight. The roebuck has, however, now been ascertained to exist on Carmel, as well as the fallow deer in the woods of Tabor. The

former bears the name *Yahmûr*, which is identical with the Hebrew word translated 'fallow deer' in the English Version of Deut. 14. 5, and 1 Kings 4. 23. The wild goat of Scripture (Heb. *Ako*), inhabiting the rocks near Engedi, is evidently the Ibex (Arabic *Bedn*), which is still found in large herds in that neighbourhood, and also occurs in the gorges above Jericho. The *Zemer*, or 'chamois,' is the only member of this group which remains unknown: it is clear that the English rendering is scarcely a happy one. (See p. 390.)

The Swine (Hebrew, *Khazir*), forbidden to be eaten or kept by the Jews, and often mentioned as a wild animal, is evidently the wild boar (Arabic, *Khanzîr*), which is so common in Palestine, and often attains a great size in the marshes of the Jordan Valley. The Hare (Heb. *Arnebeth*; Arab. '*Ernebah*') is also still found; but the Coney (Hebrew, *Shaphan*) is not to be supposed to be the rabbit, which certainly cannot be described as inhabiting 'rocks.' It is the Syrian Hyrax, called *Wabr* in Arabic; an animal found in the wilder parts of the country only. Rabbits do not exist in Syria.

The beasts of prey include the lion, the bear, the leopard, the wolf, the hyæna, the fox, and we may even add, the dog.

Although it is by no means certain that the seven Biblical words supposed, according to Talmudic interpretation, to denote the Lion at different periods of his life, are exclusively applicable to this animal, and although the lion is now extinct in Palestine, there is no reason to doubt that it existed there in the earlier historic period, giving its name to various towns, as Laish in the north and Beth-lebaoth in the south-west. The bones of lions have been found in the gravel beds of Jordan, and the Assyrian bas-reliefs frequently represent the chase of the lion.

The Bear, *Ursus Syriacus* (Heb. *Dob*, Arab. *Dubb*), is still found on Hermon and the Antilebanon. If we may credit the Chronicles of King Richard, a bear attacked that monarch in the Philistine Plain in 1292 A.D.; but it is not now known to exist, except in the cooler regions, and delights especially in the snow.

The Leopard of Scripture (Heb. *Namer*, Cant. 4. 8) is the Arabic *Nimr* or Hunting Leopard, called Cheetah in India. This is still found in the jungle surrounding Jordan, and is said also to exist in the Carmel thickets.

The Wolf (Heb. *Zeeb*, Arabic, *Dhib*) is rare in the country, but is nevertheless found occasionally in every part. The Hyæna is much more common, and often attains a great size. In Arabic it is called *Dhab'a*, and it is worthy of note that the Hebrew word *Zeboa*, rendered by error 'a speckled bird' in Jer. 12. 9, is more correctly translated 'hyæna.' The name *Zeboim* in the plural occurs in the Old Testament as that of a town and of a valley near the Jordan.

The *Shualim* of the Bible, rendered 'foxes,' seem without doubt to have been really jackals. The Fox is very rarely found, the country being as a rule unsuited for its habitat. The *Shualim* are represented as feeding on corpses (Ps. 63. 10), and they may be inferred to have been gregarious (Judges 15. 4); peculiarities which are distinctive of the jackal as compared with the fox. Numerous troops of jackals (Arabic *Wawy*) still infest the wilder parts of Palestine.

The Dog cannot be considered a domestic animal in the East. Living on the outskirts of the town, despised and ill-treated, half vulpine in breed, and feeding on garbage, the dog still answers to the description of the Psalmist, and its name is still commonly used as a term of reproach.

Among the smaller animals, the Jerboa (translated 'mouse,' Hebrew '*Akbar*'), is also very common in the Jordan Valley and in the Desert of Beersheba; and the mole rat (Arabic, *Khuld*) appears to be the Hebrew *Kholel*, rendered 'weasel' (Levit. 11. 29).

Of the Cetaceæ the commonest species is the Porpoise, which may often be seen on the Syrian coast. It appears to be the Hebrew *Takhash* (Arab. *Takhash*), rendered 'badger' in the English Version (Ezek. 16. 10).

The Reptiles of the Holy Land include various species of snakes, some of which are poisonous; and an immense variety of lizards, ghekkos (Arabic, *Hardûn*), and other species of the

Saurian family. The Monitor (Arabic, *Waren*) is found in the desert; and the Chameleon is common in all parts of the country; as are also land tortoises and water tortoises, the latter especially near Beisân.

The description of Leviathan (Job 41) approaches so closely to the general appearance and character of the crocodile, that it is interesting to note that this reptile still exists in Palestine. The river Zerka, south of Carmel, is called the Crocodile River by Pliny (Nat. Hist. 5. 19), and retained its name in the 12th century. The crocodile (Arabic, *Timsah*) is still occasionally caught in it; and the character of the stream, in which the Syrian papyrus grows luxuriantly, is so well fitted for its habitat that there seems no reason to doubt that the crocodile is here indigenous.

The names of Birds mentioned in the Bible are numerous; but it is far more difficult to identify the species than is the case with the Mammalia or Reptiles, because the natives are unobservant, and often give the same title to very different birds. The modern nomenclature does not therefore afford much assistance in discriminating between various Hebrew words.

Song-birds are extremely rare in Palestine. The bulbul is found in the Jordan Valley, and the blackbird and nightingale are occasionally seen in the thickets of Galilee; but the absence of song is very noticeable in the country, and the 'singing' of birds is only twice mentioned in the Bible (Cant. 2. 12; Ps. 104. 12).

On the other hand, the species of birds of prey are very numerous, and the air is often seen full of vultures, hawks, kites, and kestrels. The raven, jackdaw, and crow; the magpie and Syrian jay; with various species of owl, from the great horned *Otus Ascalaphus* to the small brown *Athene Persica* (Arab. *Bûmeh*), may be particularised. In the olive groves the voice of the *Bûmeh* is constantly heard, and the bird is held in great veneration by the natives.

Of the twenty species of unclean birds mentioned in Leviticus (11. 13-19) and Deuteronomy (14. 12-18), very few can be recognised by their modern names. The eagle, raven, and vulture (translated gier eagle) are exceptions; the Hebrew and

Arabic titles being identical. The English words for the remainder all represent species actually existing in Palestine, with the exception of the swan (wild duck according to the Targum); but it is quite another question whether the Hebrew words have been correctly translated.

Among clean birds the partridge was no doubt included. Two species of partridge exist, one in the Desert—a small fawn-coloured bird (*Ammoperdix Heyii*, in Arabic *Hajl*); the other the large red-legged Greek partridge (*Caccabis saxatilis*, Arabic *Shinnâr*). In the Jordan Valley and the Southern Desert the curious pintail is also found in flocks. It is the *Kat'a* of the Arabs and the *Pterocles* of naturalists.

The quail is found in Palestine, especially in spring, arriving in large flocks. It is called *Firreh* and *Semâneh* by the natives. The woodcock, snipe, redshank, bustard, plover, and lapwing are also to be enumerated among the game birds of the country.

The woods of Lower Galilee are crowded with the smaller species of wild dove (*Turtur Auritus*), called *Hamâm*; while the larger species (*Columba Palumbus*) appears in pairs, and is called *Jôzel* by the Arabs. (See pp. 392, 394.)

Other birds mentioned in the Bible and found in Palestine at the present day are the stork, the heron, the swallow, the sparrow, and the cuckoo, of which there are two species. One of the most beautiful and distinctive birds of the country—the golden winged black grackle (*Amydrus Tristramii*) does not appear to be noticed in the Sacred books; nor are the delicate sunbirds of the Jordan Valley to be identified with any Scriptural species. By the Arabs they are known as *Sûweid*.

No species of Fish are mentioned in the Bible, and only one—the Tarith, apparently a kind of tunny—in the Targums. Nevertheless, the Sea of Galilee has been always celebrated for its fish, and large specimens are caught in Jordan. The Arabs, though they eat lizards, will, like the ancient Egyptians, not touch fish; but the inhabitants of the seaside towns are more accustomed to this kind of food, and some kinds (especially the Sultan Ibrahim, which resembles a bream) are much prized. The fish are generally caught with a cast-net, thrown by a fisher

standing up to his waist in water (cf. John 21. 7). They are also occasionally poisoned with a kind of berry when they are still considered fit to eat. The fish called *Coracinus* by Josephus, and said by him to exist in the Nile and also in the Fountain of Capharnaum, was long considered fabulous, but has been shown by Dr. Tristram to be a kind of *Silurus* actually existing in both the places mentioned by the Jewish historian (see 3 Wars 10. 3).

Among the Insects of Palestine the most numerous and important family is that of the Orthoptera. The grasshopper furnished many similes in the Bible, and is to be found in swarms everywhere. The three kinds of locust (Levit. 11. 22) will probably never be clearly identified with particular species; but the devastation caused by plagues of locusts at the present day, and the use of salted or roasted grasshoppers for food among the Arabs, are facts fully agreeing with Scriptural accounts (Matt. 3. 4).

The bee appears as an enemy to man in Deuteronomy (1. 44); but the *Daburim* here mentioned are probably the *Dabbûr* or wild bees of the Arabs. It is also doubtful whether the Hebrew *Dabosh*, rendered 'honey,' may not be the Arabic *Dibs*, a sort of treacle prepared from the grape lees. The honey bee (Arabic, *Nahl*) does however exist in Palestine at the present day, and is even hived in mud hives. The honeycomb is mentioned in Scripture (Ps. 19. 10; cf. Judges 14. 8), and beehives are noticed in the Mishna (Shebiith 10. 7).

The wasp and the hornet (*Tzir'ah*) are noticed in the Pentateuch (Exod. 23. 28; Deut. 7. 20) as forerunners and allies of Israel against their enemies. Numerous traditions of armies and individuals destroyed by wasps (Arabic, *Sik'a*) are commonly related in Palestine at the present day.

The number of flies, midges, gnats, mosquitos, and sandflies, found in summer in the plains of Syria, fully explains the worship of Baal Zebub, 'the lord of flies,' among the lowlanders of Ekron.

The Mollusca require but a short notice. The snail is mentioned by the Psalmist (58. 8), but the *Hamat* (Auth. Vers.

'snail,' Levit. 11. 30) was probably a lizard. An edible land snail exists in the Holy Land, with other freshwater species.

The *Murex*, from which the Tyrian purple was obtained, is not mentioned in the Bible; but the 'abundance of the seas' promised to Zebulun (Deut. 33. 19) is held by the Talmudic commentators to refer to the Chilzon (Arabic, *Halzûn* or 'snail'), which was the Hebrew name for the *Murex Trunculus*. The expression 'thine head, like Carmel—the hair of thy head like purple' (Cant. 7. 5), they also take to refer to the fishery of the Chilzon carried on from a town of that name near Carmel, as far north as Phœnicia. The *Murex* has given its name to the present Wâdy Halzûn, near Acre.

Without entering into the question of the mythical Shamir worm, which, according to the Talmudical scholars, assisted Solomon to polish the Temple stones, and which some have supposed to be a fanciful title for 'emery powder,' we may conclude this chapter by mentioning that the word 'Scarlet' (Thol'ath has-Shani, Exod. 39. 1) is literally 'scarlet worm,' and that it is thought to refer to the cochineal insect, which (according to Volney) would find food in any part of Syria. The culture of this insect on the leaves of the prickly pear has, however, been attempted unsuccessfully of late years near Shechem.

CHAPTER II.

PALESTINE BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

THE earliest notice of those inhabitants of the Holy Land who were conquered by the Children of Israel derives their descent from Ham ; the Jews, through Abraham, descending from Shem. It is, however, noteworthy that no great difference appears to have existed between the aboriginal language and that of the conquerors. Not only is there no mention of linguistic difficulties between the Hebrew and the Canaanite in the time of Abraham or of Joshua, but we now know from the Egyptian monuments that the names given by the Canaanites to their towns were substantially the same employed by the Jews ; such words as Beth (a house), and Ain (a spring), being apparently common to the two languages. The same result might be deduced from the occasional notices in the Old Testament of the change of name in cities rebuilt by the Israelites (Numb. 32. 38).

The group of tribes collected under the common name of Canaanites (Gen. 10. 15-18) included six, who were settled beyond the bounds of Palestine proper, and four who afterwards appear among the seven nations destroyed by Joshua. The whole of these tribes seem to be divided into two groups, under the names Sidon and Heth. This is in accordance with the results of Egyptian research, whence it appears that the Hittite nation extended its domination almost to the coasts of Egypt, and agrees with the latest discoveries of the Assyrian archaeologists, which seem to show that an extensive Hittite centre existed north-east of Palestine. It is now thought that the

curious illegible inscriptions found at Hamath, and in other places farther east, will prove to be of Hittite origin; and it will be seen immediately that the Hittites are mentioned in the Bible both in the north and in the south of the Holy Land.

The six northern tribes of Canaan were the Arkites, near Arce, in Lebanon, north of Tripoli; the Sinites, probably rather farther south, near Strabo's Sinna; the Arvadites, near Aradus, now Er-Rûad, an island on the coast, some thirty miles north of Tripoli; the Zemarites, round Simyra, a place inland of the last; the Hivites; and the Hamathites, in Hamath. With these northern tribes we are not further concerned.

The Southern tribes require rather a more detailed notice. In Genesis four nations, Jebusi, Amori, Girgasi, and Hivi, are first mentioned, besides the sons of Heth and the Canaanite—the latter word being used with a restricted meaning. At rather a later period (Gen. 15. 18) other names are added: the Perizzites, the Rephaim, the Kenites, Kenezites, and Kadmonites. In the time of Abraham, also, the Moabites and Ammonites, east of Jordan, are derived from a Semitic stock (Gen. 19. 37), as were the Edomites, or descendants of Esau, in the southern desert (Gen. 36. 19). The Amalekites are also mentioned farther west as early as Abraham's time (Gen. 14. 7); and the Midianites, inhabiting the Sinaitic desert, were half-brethren of the Israelites (Gen. 25. 4). The Philistines are mentioned in the Book of Genesis (10. 14) as of Egyptian origin, and are found settled near Gaza in the time of Abraham. It is remarkable, however, that they are not enumerated among the tribes mentioned in the Pentateuch.

From the above *résumé*, it appears that the inhabitants of Palestine, at the time of the Conquest, were derived from three separate stocks. The Canaanites holding the habitable country were not directly allied by blood with the Hebrews. The four tribes Moab, Ammon, Midian, and Edom, were of Semitic origin; and the Philistines formed a third group by themselves. Before considering, however, the geographical distribution of these various tribes, it is necessary to call attention to a yet older population, which had been conquered and dispossessed by

the nations afterwards subjugated by Israel, but of whom a few survivors are found even as late as the days of David.

The general title under which these aborigines are classed is that of Rephaim, sometimes rendered 'giants' in the Authorised Version, and their latest descendants were still remarkable for their great stature. We are not informed of the origin of the Rephaim; for the 'giants' (Nephilim), 'and mighty' men (Gibborim) of an earlier period (Gen. 6. 4) are not necessarily connected with them. The Rephaim (or 'lofty men') were found in Ashtoreth Karnaim, south of Damascus, and were known to the Moabites as Emim ('fearful,' Deut. 2. 11), and to the Ammonites as Zamzummim. Another gigantic tribe, the Zuzim, lived in Ham, a place quite unknown. The last and most important family of giants was that of Anak, whose descendants lived in the southern mountains round Hebron, Debir, and Anab, and even in Philistia at Gath, Gaza and Ekron (Num. 13. 33; Joshua 11. 21-22).

The tribe of Anakim round refuge from Joskaa in Philistia, where their descendants were still existing in the time of David (2 Sam. 21. 16); but the other gigantic races gradually disappeared before the tribes of the Canaanites.

It would seem possible that the Pentateuch also contains traces of a race of dwarfs, reminding us of the manner in which giant and dwarf stand side by side in the ancient German folklore. The Horim or 'cave dwellers,' called Troglodytes by Josephus, inhabited the rocky caverns round Petra until dispossessed by the children of Esau and Ishmael (Deut. 2. 12). The whole of the southern part of Palestine bears evidence of the use of caves as dwellings by some primitive people; and the names Haura and Hôrân applied to ruins in this district may, perhaps, preserve the memory of the Horim. According to the Talmud, even Beit Jibrîn, though considerably farther north, was once inhabited by these troglodytes; but it must not be forgotten that the Jews themselves lived in caves, and used caves for their sheepfolds as late as the time of Saul and of David.

We may now proceed to notice the probable distribution of

the Canaanite tribes in Palestine in the order of their apparent importance.—

(1), *The Hittites*, who, as above noticed, appear prominently in early Assyrian and Egyptian records, were a nation of mountaineers (Num. 13. 29); they are mentioned in the north apparently as extending to Euphrates (Josh. 1. 4), but are most commonly known as existing in the mountains of Hebron (Gen. 23), and apparently as far south as Beersheba (Gen. 27. 46). Hittites were still to be found in the time of David (1 Sam. 26. 6; 2 Sam. 23. 39), and Hittite wives were even admitted to the harem of Solomon (1 Kings 11. 1). In Palestine they have left their name in two places: (1) Hattin, the old Caphar Hittai of the Talmud, above the sea of Galilee; and (2) Kefr Hatta, north of Jerusalem.

(2), *The Canaanites*, or 'lowlanders,' lived both in the Maritime Plain from Gaza to Sidon, and also in the Jordan Valley from Sodom to Lasha (Gen. 10. 19). The expression 'the Canaanite on the East and West' (Josh. 11. 3) is thus explained.

(3), *The Amorites*, or 'mountaineers,' are found both east and west of Jordan from the north to the south of Palestine. The term appears to describe rather the habitat of the people thus denominated than their descent. No individual Amorites are mentioned in the Old Testament.

(4), *The Perizzites*, apparently 'rustics' living in 'country villages' (Heb. *Caphrath Perazi*, 1 Sam. 6. 18), are found in the centre of Palestine (Gen. 34. 30), and in Lower Galilee (Josh. 17. 15). They have possibly left their name in the present village of Ferasin, north-west of Shechem.

(5), *The Hivite* (a word only found in the singular) lived in the hill-country immediately north of Jerusalem. The name is translated 'midlander' by Ewald, and 'villager' by Gesenius. The league of Hivite towns formed to resist Joshua included Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim (Josh. 9. 17); and Shechem (Gen. 34. 2) was also a Hivite city. They first appear in history in the time of Jacob; but the term is also applied to inhabitants of Lebanon (Judg. 3. 3), and, like the

three preceding, is perhaps rather a denomination than a true tribal name.

(6), *The Jebusites* were inhabitants of Jerusalem, and probably of the surrounding mountains, and were in possession of the Temple hill and the Upper City in David's time.

(7), *The Gergasites* are a people of whom nothing is known beyond their name.

The seven nations thus mentioned are those generally noticed in the Pentateuch as comprising the whole of the Palestinian tribes. Most of their names appear to be derived from their habitat, and we may perhaps conclude from external evidence (as well as from Josh. 1. 4) that the national name was Hitti or Chatti.

Three other tribal titles occur in Genesis (15. 18), one of which can be identified with some certainty.

(8), *The Kenites* are mentioned as living in a strong fortress apparently near the Amalekites (Num. 24. 21), and the family of Hobab, the Kenite, is again found in the desert of Judah and in the Negeb near Arab (Judg. 1. 16); finally, the Kenites are noticed, with other inhabitants of the southern territory of Judah, in the time of David (1 Sam. 30. 29). It seems most probable, therefore, that they inhabited the town of Cain (now Yekîn), situated on the cliffs above the Jeshimon—a place which would have been easily visible as a prominent object on the sky-line from the top of Pisgah whence Balaam addresses the Kenites.

(9), *The Kenizzite*, and (10) the *Kadmonite* are known only by name (Gen. 15. 19).

The nation of the Amalekites is not included among the tribes of Heth or Canaan. Its genealogy is doubtful, but its antiquity is considerable. The Amalekites appear near Kadesh as early as the time of Abraham (Gen. 14. 7), although Josephus derives their descent from Amalek, the grandson of Esau (Gen. 36. 12, 2 Ant. 1. 2). At the period of the Exodus they are found defending the mountain passes near Sinai (Exod. 17. 8) and above Kadesh (Num. 14. 45); and they continued to be inimical to Israel even as late as the reign of

Hezekiah (1 Chron. 4. 43), after having been almost exterminated by Saul and David.

The geographical distribution of the tribes of Semitic descent may be briefly dismissed. The country of the Moabites and Ammonites was east of Jordan; but at the time of the Exodus the Amorites from Bashan had encroached on their territory. The Moabites were driven southwards until their northern boundary was the river Arnon (Num. 21. 13-26). Heshbon becoming the capital of the Amorite Sihon. The Ammonites were obliged to retreat eastwards to the watershed (Deut. 2. 37), where they remained in the mountains in a district not annexed by Israel, and in which their name is still preserved at 'Ammân, the ancient Rabbath Ammon (Num. 21. 24). The Edomites inhabited Mount Seir and the neighbourhood of Petra, as far south as the shores of the Gulf of 'Akabah. The Midianites lived in the Sinaitic Desert, and their land extended eastwards to an unknown limit.

One nation alone remains to be noticed, a people never completely conquered by the Jews, and retaining heathen worship even as late as the fourth century of our era. These are the Philistines or 'emigrants,' from whom the name *Palestine* is derived. They were of Egyptian origin (Gen. 10. 14), and came from Caphtor (Amos 9. 7), a maritime region (Heb. *ʿi*, Jer. 47. 4), which mediæval Jewish writers identify with Damietta. In later times they are also called Cherethim (Ezek. 25. 16), and in David's time the Cherethites and Pelethites (or Philistines) are mentioned together (2 Sam. 20. 7). It is important, therefore, to note that one of the principal villages of Philistia is now called Keretîya, so that the term may apply to the inhabitants of this town—an ancient Cherith, not mentioned in the Bible. This suggestion seems simpler than that of some authors, who make the Philistines come from Crete, forgetting apparently that they were descendants of Mizraim or Egypt.

The Philistines are mentioned in Genesis; and if we may judge by the reappearance of the names Abimelech (Father-King) and Phicol in the histories both of Abraham and of Isaac, they appear to have then had special titles for their

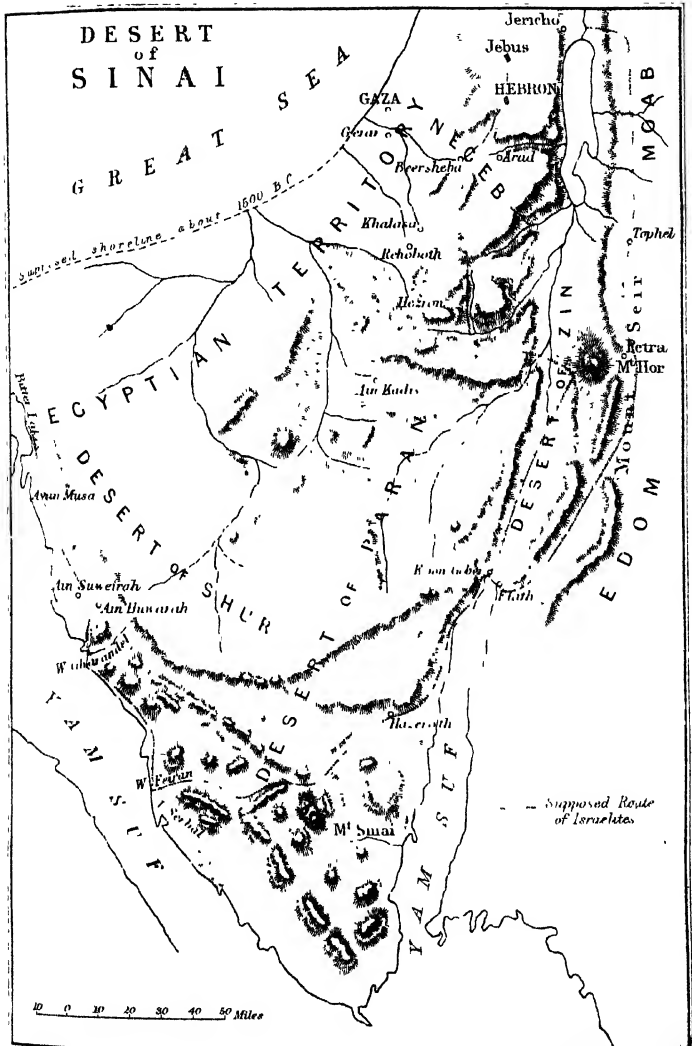
kings and military chiefs. It is remarkable that the name Philistine does not occur in other Books of the Pentateuch, in the category of Canaanite tribes; but in Deuteronomy the invasion of the Philistine plain by the Caphtorim is noticed (Deut. 2. 23). The aborigines of this part are there called Avim ('Awim), dwelling in 'enclosures' (Hazerim), as far as Gaza, and have left their name in the ruin now called Beit 'Auwa, on the edge of the Philistine plain, west of Hebron. In another passage of the Pentateuch (Exod. 15. 14) Palestina, presumably meaning Philistia, is mentioned.

The Philistines were inimical to the earlier Patriarchs; and it is very remarkable that when the body of Jacob was brought from Egypt to Hebron the route taken was not the direct one through Philistia, or even that by Beersheba on the borders of the Philistine country, but one which led to the east of Jordan, like that finally taken by the Israelites after the Exodus (cf. Gen. 50. 11). It is clear from the hieratic records that the Philistine plain was under the rule of the Egyptians about the time of the Exodus and probably later.

The history of the Semitic immigration into Palestine commences after the settlement of Abraham in Harran—a place which, if we might judge from the parallel account extracted by Josephus from Nicolaus, was near Damascus. The ruin of Harrân in the plain, east of the Syrian capital, might possibly represent the site, but the notice of Euphrates in Genesis 31. 21 seems irreconcilable with this view.

The most important question connected with the topography of this early period is that of the Cities of the Plain; and in order to explain fully what is known on the subject it is necessary to treat the question in detail.

From the camp east of Bethel, Lot is said to have 'beheld all the plain of Jordan,' which he afterwards chose for his abode (Gen. 13. 10). It is evident, however, that the expression must not be taken too literally, because there is no mountain near Bethel from which more than a small portion of the Ghôr can be seen at once, the western side being hidden by the cliffs which rise above it.



The word here rendered 'plain' is in Hebrew *Ciccar*, and its special applicability to the Jordan Valley from Jericho as far north even as Succoth has been already noticed (Chap. I. p. 213). The Cities of the Plain, so far as the term *Ciccar* is concerned, should therefore be sought north of the Dead Sea, but may have existed as far north as the Jabbok (2 Chron. 14. 17, 'plain of Jordan'). The cities were five in number: Sodom, Gomorrah, Zeboim, Admah, and Bela (afterwards called Zoar). Of these two at least were so completely destroyed by the great convulsion mentioned in Genesis 19 that they disappear from the subsequent topography.

In another passage, we find the Cities of the Plain mentioned in connection with the Vale of Siddim (*Emek has-Siddim*), 'which is the Salt Sea' (Gen. 14. 3). From a very early period this definition has been supposed to imply that the Dead Sea was formed after the destruction of the four cities and that they were engulfed by its waters. This is the view taken by Josephus (1 Ant. 10. 1) and is the belief of the Moslems, who denominate the lake *Bahr Lût*, 'Sea of Lot.' It has even found adherents among English writers.

In the previous chapter the great antiquity of the present Dead Sea has been explained and, which is yet more important, it has been shown that whatever be the geological period to which the lake belongs, it was preceded by a yet larger sheet of water covering apparently the whole region called *Ciccar* in the Bible. The lake far from having been recently formed, is the remains of a yet larger and more ancient sea. It may further be remarked, that the Cities of the Plain are described as having been destroyed by fire, not by water. Had the author intended us to understand that they sunk to the bottom of a lake which was formed at the time, he would probably have explained more exactly the character of the convulsion.

It is further noticeable that only Gomorrah and Sodom are mentioned (in Genesis) as having been overthrown. Whether Admah and Zeboim shared their fate, we are not there told, though in the Book of Deuteronomy all four are mentioned as having been overthrown (Deut. 29. 23).

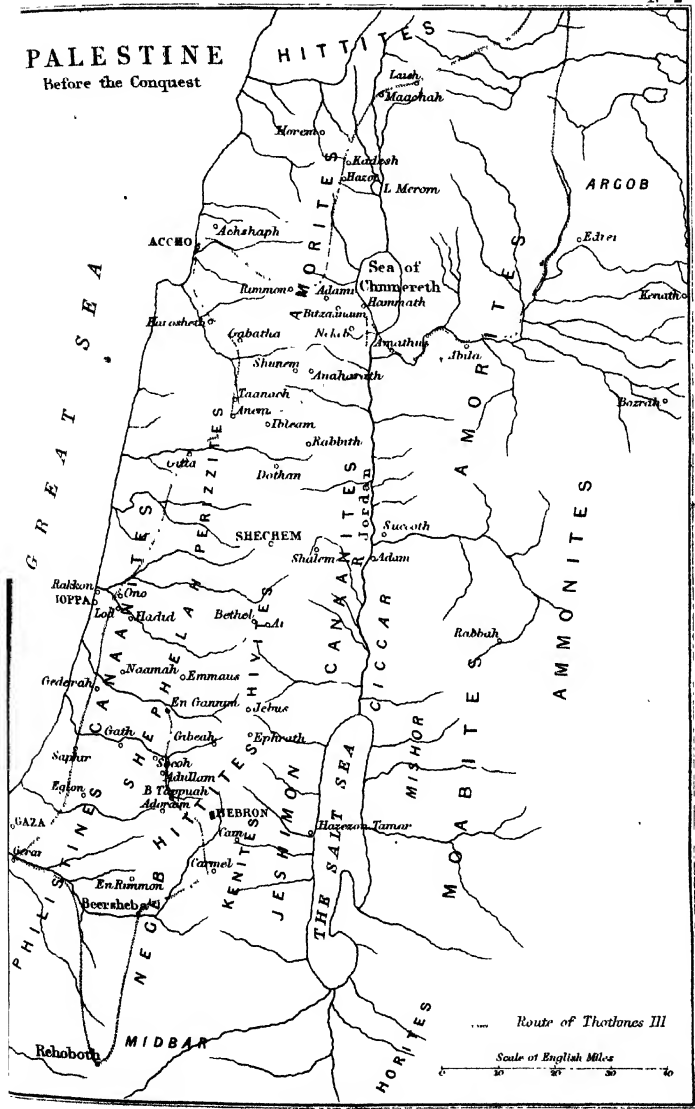
The name Siddim has been a puzzle to scholars. The root has the meaning of 'obstruction,' and in modern Arabic the word *sidd* generally means a dam. It has, however, now been ascertained that the same word has a special significance among the Arabs of the Jordan Valley, meaning a 'cliff,' or 'bank.' The cliffs of marl along the shore of the Dead Sea and those formed by the streams running to Jordan are called Sidd by the Bedawîn. These marl hills are the most remarkable features of the lower part of the Ghôr. They are occasionally nearly 100 feet high, and are composed of thinly stratified marls and gravels. Sometimes, they form isolated hills surrounded by gullies; sometimes they occur as long narrow plateaux above the river. If then, the Hebrew word has the same meaning with the Arabic (which is at least probable), the name Vale of Siddim may be considered without impropriety as synonymous with the Ciccar of Jordan. Thus while geological considerations make it impossible for us to put a strictly literal construction on the words 'which is the Salt Sea,' we are otherwise left free to search the whole valley to a distance of twenty miles north of the lake for the site of the Cities of the Plain.

Another reason for supposing this extension of area, is that no sites suitable for cities are found in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. There is one large brackish fountain ('Ain Feshkhah) on the western shore, and the thermal spring at Engedi was once surrounded by a town, but no other springs of any importance are known. No ruins have been discovered near the Dead Sea which can be considered ancient; but it is not reasonable to expect that the actual remains of cities so completely destroyed, and so entirely blotted out of the minute topography of the Book of Joshua, will ever be discovered after such a lapse of time.

With regard to Sodom we know that it was near Zoar, and therefore, probably east of Jordan, and not far from the Dead Sea. Of the position of Gomorrah we have no certain indication, nor is the interpretation of its name—variously rendered 'depression' and 'cultivation'—determined with any exactitude.

PALESTINE

Before the Conquest



Of Admah and Zeboim, on the other hand, we find perhaps a later notice. The city Adam noticed in the Book of Joshua (8. 16) was possibly the same as Admah; and if we may attach any force to the order in which the cities are enumerated in another passage (Gen. 10. 19), Admah lay further north than Sodom. The Adam of the later period has been identified as leaving its name at the Dâmieh bridge and ford immediately south of the Jabbok; and such a site lies, as previously explained, within the region of the Ciccar.

In the 1st Book of Samuel (13. 18) a valley of Zeboim (Gai ha-Zeboim) is mentioned as being 'towards the wilderness' (Midbar) east of Michmash, and this is still recognisable in Wâdy Shakh ed-Dub'a. This name may perhaps be connected with the site of the ancient Zeboim in the Ciccar.

The site of Zoar has not yet been determined with certitude. The word means 'small,' and the proper Arabic equivalent would be *Saghîr*. Zoar was not in the mountains, but in the plain near Sodom (Gen. 19. 19), and apparently close to the hills (Deut. 34. 3). It is mentioned with Heshbon, Beth Nimrim, and other places east of Jordan, and seems to have formed the western limit of Moab (Jer. 48. 34). Perhaps the best suggestion yet made for its identification is Tell esh-Shaghûr, at the foot of the eastern mountains immediately north of the Dead Sea, and some 6 miles south of Nimrîn. The situation seems appropriate, though the name does not strictly represent the Hebrew, and has the meaning 'soft soil,' in Arabic.

A very important addition to the history of Palestine topography has lately been obtained from the walls of the Temple at Karnak, near Thebes, in Egypt. The hieroglyphics on the pylones of this temple record the victories of Thothmes III., who reigned shortly before the Exodus. In the 22nd year of his reign, this monarch made an expedition against the inhabitants of Kedesu and Magedi, in Upper Ruten (Palestine), by which names Kadesh and Megiddo appear to be intended. The troops were assembled in the Land of Sharuana (probably Sharon), and two routes are mentioned as leading towards Magedi; one by Genta (possibly the Samaritan Gitta, now Jett), and by the land of

Aanaka (perhaps the Anakim); the other, more difficult and direct, by the fortress of Aaruna to Kaina, south of Magedi. This latter was the road chosen by Thothmes, against the advice of his chiefs, but the expedition was nevertheless successful, and Megiddo was taken on the day after the pass of Aaruna had been forced.¹

On other pylones of the same temple the list of cities conquered during this expedition is given; and as it is thrice repeated, there is no reason for suspecting clerical error in cases where the three readings agree. The principal interest of these lists consists in the deductions which we may perhaps be entitled to make from them as to the close connection between the Canaanite and Hebrew languages. The names of the cities are, of course, not Hebrew names, as the period is previous to that of the Israelite conquest, yet a large proportion of them are at once recognisable as identical with those in the Bible, and the differences may very probably be due rather to the difficulty experienced by the Egyptian writer in reproducing in the sounds of his own soft language the various Hebrew gutturals, than to any real difference in the Canaanite and Hebrew names.

The number of towns in the Karnak lists is 119; and the mention of Damascus and of other places east of the Jordan seems to show that the Egyptian monarch pushed his conquests far beyond Megiddo. The following selected names are given, because they may be easily identified with Biblical places. They serve to show the consecutive order which characterises the whole list, extending over the Plains of Galilee, Peræa, Philistia, and the Southern Desert.²

Number on the List	Egyptian Name	Hebrew Name	Arabic Name
1	Kedeshu	Kadesh	Kedes
2	Magedi	Megiddo	Mujedd'a
11	Kerettenau	Kirjathaim	—
13	Damesku	Damascus	esh-Shâm
14	Adara	Edrei	edh-Dhr'a
15	Abila	Abila	Abil

¹ See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii.

² See *Muriette's Listes des Pylones de Karnak*.

Number on the List	Egyptian Name	Hebrew Name	Arabic Name
16	Khemtu	Hammath	el-Hammâm
20	Madna	Madon	Madin
21	Sarana	Lasharon	Sarôna
23	Batzna	Bitzaanaim	Bessûm
24	Amashna	Amathus	Amâta
26	Kaana	Kenath	Kunawât
28	Ashtaratu	Ashtaroth	—
30	Makata	Maachath	—
31	Lausa	Laish	Bâniâs
32	Khatzor	Hazor	Hudîreh
33	Pa Hurah	Horez	Hârah
34	Cinnarathu	Chinneroth	—
36	Adam	Adami	ed-Dâmîeh
38	Shenam	Shunem	Sûlem
39	Mashala	Misheal	M'aîsleh
40	Acshaph	Achshaph	el-Yasîf
42	Taanac	Taanach	Tanâk
43	Iblamu	Ibleam	Bel'ameh
52	Anukheru	Anaharath	en-N'aûrah
57	Nekebu	Nekeb	Seiyâdeh
59	Ranama	Rimmon	Rummâneh
62	Iphu	Joppa	Yâfa
64	Luden	Lod	Lidd
65	Hana	Ono	Kefr 'Ana
66	Aphuken	Aphek	—
67	Suca	Sochoh	Shuweîkeh
68	Ikhma	Emmaus	'Amwâs
75	Naun	Naama	N'aneh
76	Khudida	Hadid	Hadîtheh
79	Rakata	Rakkon	Tell Rakkeit
80	Gerara	Gerar	Umm el-Jerrâr
82	Lebau	Lebaoth	—
86	Ani	Ain	—
87	Rakhebu	Rehoboth	er-Ruheibeh
89	Higlaim	Eglon	'Ajlân
95	Aina	Anim	el-Ghuwein
96	Caraman	Carmel	Kurmul
98	Taphu (na)	Beth Tappuah	Tuffûh
110	Bet Shara	Shaaraim	S'aîreh
113	An Kanamu	En Gannim	Umm Jîna

In the Fourth Chapter it will be shown that a great part of the territory indicated by the names of this list was still under

Egyptian rule as late as the time of the Judges. The inscriptions agree with the account of the Philistine invasion of the southern plain, the Philistines being of Egyptian origin, and very possibly remaining Egyptian subjects. The hieroglyphic inscriptions in Wâdy el-Mughârah further show that the western part of the Sinaitic Desert was also inhabited at the time of the Exodus by Egyptian miners. Thus as far east as Rehoboth, the Desert of Shur, between Egypt and Palestine, was under the rule of the Pharaohs, and fresh light is thus thrown on the subject of the Israelite route to the Promised Land.

The topography of the Pentateuch presents difficulties far greater than that of the later Books of the Bible. The main reason is, that we are here dealing with a desert country now inhabited by nomadic tribes, which appear to have emigrated at the comparatively late period from Southern Arabia. The experience of all explorers has been that the ancient nomenclature of the country is very rarely preserved by the nomadic Arabs who have given to the natural features of the country new titles derived from their present appearance. It has also been clearly shown, throughout the Holy Land, that the old Hebrew or Canaanite names are preserved at the ruined sites, but that those of natural features are lost. Scarcely a name can be cited which preserves the Hebrew title of a spring, a mountain, or a valley; while, on the other hand, the name of nearly every village is of Hebrew origin. Thus, in a country where no ruins of great antiquity are found, and where mountains, rocks, valleys, and springs are the only objects which require names, we are not surprised to be unable to recover easily the old nomenclature of the district.

In treating the question of the Desert topography, it is important—as, indeed, with all the ancient topography—to be very particular in noting the special meaning of the Hebrew words employed. The Authorised Version has rendered the various terms Ciccar, Arabah, Mishor, Bikath, all by our English word ‘plain’; yet each of these words describes a separate region. Nachal is translated ‘brook’ and ‘river’; but means properly a winter torrent, as distinguished from a perennial

stream; and other instances might be mentioned in which the precise and distinctive meaning of the Hebrew is lost in the English Version.

Of the forty-one stations mentioned in the Book of Numbers (33.) between Rameses in Egypt and the plains of Abel Shittim east of Jericho, only two have been found to retain their ancient names, and only six can be said to be known with any degree of certitude. Fortunately these are sufficiently well divided along the route to give a good general idea of the direction followed by the Israelites; but all the efforts of experienced travellers have not as yet resulted in a more perfect recovery of the details of their march.

The Land of Goshen is pretty clearly identified with the district of Lower Egypt immediately east of the Nile. 'The Plain of Zoan' (Ps. 78. 11) is the country of the famous Egyptian city Tzor, Tzal, or Tzan, and the term seems used in the Psalm as equivalent to the name Goshen. In the LXX. Version the country is called Gesen of Arabia (Gen. 45. 10), the Arabian Nome or province of Egypt being thus indicated, the capital of which on Egyptian monuments is called Gosem, and is identified by Brugsch¹ with the later Phakussa, the present ruin of *Kûs* or *Fakûs*. Zoan was the capital of the fourteenth Nome of Lower Egypt; Gosem or Phakussa of the twentieth. Zoan was a city of such antiquity as to preserve monuments of the sixth Egyptian Dynasty (cf. Numb. 13. 22). It received in later times the title of Pi Rameses according to Brugsch, and may thus be thought to represent the city of Rameses built (or rebuilt) by the Israelites. The exact site is, however, still a matter of controversy.

The second treasure city built by the Israelites was Pithom, which was apparently the city of the God Thom, and is called Patumos by Herodotus (2. 158). It was in the district of Sukot,² and, according to the Antonine Itinerary, about half-way between Zoan and Pelusium. As far as the name is concerned, it may be identified with Etham at a distance of

¹ *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 339.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 202.

two journeys from Rameses (Num. 33. 6); the later name was, according to Brugsch, Heracleopolis Parva, and the Nome of Sukot or Thukot was the eighth of Lower Egypt. The name Sukot is, no doubt, the same with the Biblical Succoth (Exod. 12. 37) signifying 'tents,' and in common with many titles of this part of Egypt is of Semitic derivation; for the district east of the Nile appears from Egyptian records to have been inhabited by races not of Egyptian descent, and even the famous city of Zoan was built by strangers.

The LXX. Version adds a third city to those built by the Israelites (Exod. 1. 11), namely, On, the Egyptian Anu or Heliopolis, capital of the thirteenth Nome, the site of which is fixed near Cairo. Goshen is rendered in the same version by the expression 'Heroopolis in the land of Rameses' (Gen. 47. 27).

Letopolis or the Egyptian Babylon near Cairo is also mentioned by Josephus in his account of the Exodus (2 Ant. 15. 1).

Thus, although the present condition of Egyptian topography does not allow of our fixing the exact sites of these ancient cities, the concurrent testimony of several distinct sources of information leaves no doubt that the Land of Goshen was a district of Lower Egypt, lying east of the Nile.

The identification of the Land of Goshen renders it probable that the site of Sinai is correctly located where it has always been shown—at Jebel Mûsa, in the Sinaitic Peninsula. Moses refers to Sinai, in speaking to Pharaoh (Exod. 5. 3), as being at a distance of three days' journey into the Desert; and from Josephus we learn that it was 'the highest of all the mountains thereabout' (2 Ant. 12. 1). The time occupied by the Israelites was, indeed, more than three days, and at present it is ten easy marches from Suez to Jebel Mûsa; but the three days may be taken as the shortest time in which the distance of 100 miles could be traversed; while the height of Jebel Katarîn—the principal peak of the Jebel Mûsa block—is 8,537 feet above the sea, and about 100 feet higher than any other summit in the district. The crest of the Serbal—once thought to be the true Sinai—is 800 feet lower; and the latter mountain does not

present the feature which characterizes Jebel Mûsa, namely, the broad plain (er-Râhah) in which the Israelites might properly be described as having come near and 'stood under the mountain' (Deut. 4. 11).

The sea, which in the English Version (following the Greek) we find called 'the Red Sea,' is invariably in the Hebrew *Yam Suf* ('sea of weeds' or 'of rushes'), but the translation appears to be correct, for we find the Israelites encamped, after three days' journey from the place of crossing, once more by the *Yam Suf* (Numb. 33. 10); and in another important passage (1 Kings 9. 26) Ezion-geber is described as 'beside Eloth, on the shore of the *Yam Suf*, in the Land of Edom.' The Eloth in question is the later Elath or Aila at the head of the present Gulf of 'Akabah, which received the name *Ælanitic Gulf* from this town. It appears from these passages that the term '*Yam Suf*' is equivalent in meaning to the term by which it is translated in our version—the Red Sea.

The place where the Israelites crossed the *Yam Suf* will probably never be ascertained with any exactitude, and this for two reasons:—First, the places which receive in the Book of Exodus the names Migdol, Baulzephon, and Pi-hahiroth—the first two apparently Hebrew, the last, by its prefix *Pa*, seemingly of Egyptian origin—are unknown, and likely to remain so. The second reason, of even greater importance, is, that we are unable to say exactly what was the condition of the Isthmus of Suez at the time of the Exodus. The existence of the Bitter Lakes, the bed of which is lower than the sea level, shows that at some former time the water of the Gulf of Suez extended farther north. The Isthmus has been formed by the constant deposit of the Nile mud; and so rapid has its increase been, that in the last half-century the mouth of the Nile has advanced northwards four geographical miles. The maps of Ptolemy (2nd and 3rd centuries of our era) show the mouths some 40 geographical miles farther south than at present, and we have evidence of their correctness in the present position of the artificial channels of the Bolbitic and Phatmic branches. At this rate of deposit, Memphis must have been near the coast of the

Mediterranean in 4455 B.C.; and its name (Men Nofer) signifying 'good haven,' shows it to have been a seaport when founded about that period.

It is thus possible that at the time of the Exodus nothing but a marsh separated the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and that the extent of the Gulf of Suez was very different from what it now is. We cannot, therefore, hope to ascertain the exact point of the crossing; but as has been shown, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the sea called Yam Suf, crossed by the Israelites after leaving the Land of Goshen, was some part of the Gulf of Suez, or of the adjoining marshes as then existing.

None of the stations between the point of crossing and Mount Sinai are known with certainty. The general route followed lay apparently along the eastern shore of the Gulf, for the third camp was beside the Yam Suf (Num. 33. 10). The brackish springs which occur between the shore and the chain of Jebel er-Râhah bear modern names; and as no distances are mentioned in the Pentateuch, their identification can only be conjectural. The most generally received theory identifies 'Ain Huwârah, 50 miles (or about three days' journey) from Suez, with Marah; Wâdy Gharandel—which abounds in tamarisks and palms near its mouth—with Elim, where were seventy palm trees; and Wâdy Feirân (preserving possibly the name Paran, which applied to the greater part of the Sinaitic Desert) with Rephidim.

After leaving Sinai, the Israelites travelled towards the southern boundary of the Holy Land, which they reached in about a year's time. The distance is only about 150 miles, or eleven days' journey (Deut. 1. 2). On this route 20 stations are enumerated (Num. 33) between Sinai and Ezion-geber—a distance of only 90 miles; and although it seems possible that Ezion-geber does not here occur in its right order, still, if the 20 stations are supposed to include the whole distance from Sinai to Kadesh, it is evident that a long sojourn in each camp is intended to be understood. The Israelites, indeed, inhabited the desert as nomads, moving slowly northwards towards the

well cultivated lands of Palestine; and the fact that the order of occurrence of the stations is apparently sometimes inverted, may perhaps be best explained by the supposition that the camps were revisited at various periods. The Bedawîn have their winter and summer camping grounds, each revisited in turn, and this might serve to explain why Moseroth (which was near Mount Hor (Deut. 10. 6), occurs long before Ezion-geber in the list of Numbers (33. 31).

There are only three points on the route to Kadesh which can be considered fixed. The first is the station of Hazeroth, the second stage from Sinai. This was found by Burckhardt, still by some strange chance preserving its name under the Arabic form, at the spring of 'Ain Hadra, some 30 miles north-east of Jebel Mûsa. The second fixed point is Ezion-geber, which we know to have been near the head of the Gulf of 'Akabah (1 Kings 9. 26). The third is Mount Hor, which Josephus tells us was situated near Arce, Rckem, or Petra (4 Ant. 4. 7), just where it is now shown, with the supposed tomb of Aaron on its summit.

The position of 'Ain Hadra seems clearly to indicate that the route of the Israelites lay along the coast, beneath the lofty wall of the mountains of et-Tîh. This is also confirmed by the fact, that the neighbourhoods of Ezion-geber, and of Mount Hor were visited both in going to, and returning from, Kadesh; and we are thus led to suppose an advance up the broad basin of the 'Arabah, which, though barren and ill supplied with water, still formed the natural highway to Palestine, and contained more springs than could have been found in the more difficult desert to the west, which is called Paran in the Bible, and et-Tîh ('pathless') at the present day.

The discovery of a spring bearing the name 'Ain Kades—identical with the Hebrew Kadesh—has induced many writers to suppose a route leading much farther west. It is, therefore, necessary to state the reasons for supposing Kadesh Barnea to have been situated near the eastern route of the 'Arabah.

Three names of deserts are given in the Pentateuch. Shur ('the wall') extended from Egypt towards Philistia, and the

Rabbinical writers render it by Khalusah, which is evidently the present Khalasah, the Roman Elusa, south-west of Beersheba. The Wilderness of Paran lay farther east, and extended to Sinai. The Desert of Sin was the farthest east of the three, and appears to answer to the present basin of the 'Arabah.

Now the district of Kadesh lay between the wildernesses of Sin and Paran, the place being said in one passage to be in the one (Num. 20. 1), and in a second in the other (Num. 13. 26). The site of 'Ain Kades, which is rather west of the meridian of Khalasah, would have been between Paran and Shur rather than on the edge of the Desert of Sin.

In another passage Kadesh is spoken of as a city on the border of Edom (Num. 20. 16), and Mount Hor being on the same border (verse 23) we cannot place Kadesh very far west of that mountain. The Targum of Onkelos indeed identifies Kadesh Barnea with 'the Valley of Rekem,' that is, with Petra below Mount Hor. Kadesh is the first point on the southern border of Judah, after ascending the Maaleh 'Akrabbim, which led up from the shores of the Dead Sea (Josh. 15. 3). Moreover, after the defeat of the Israelites in the neighbourhood of Kadesh by the Amalekites, the pursuit extended to Seir, by which we should probably understand Mount Seir, or the range of hills round Petra (Deut. 1. 44).

It seems pretty certain from the two accounts (Deut. 1. 44, Num. 14. 45) that Kadesh lay at the foot of a pass leading to the Amalekite mountains; and it is noticeable that the Israelites were also attacked by the king of Arad (Num. 21. 1), which is in accordance with the supposition that Kadesh lay on the road leading from Mount Hor towards the upland plateau where Tell 'Arad is now found. The site of Kadesh is thus in all probability to be sought at the foot of the great mountain-wall which forms the natural boundary of Palestine on the south-east, and to which the road from Mount Hor ascends in the neighbourhood of the Wâdy el-Yemen. The probable site of Hezron (Josh. 15. 3) is also in accordance with the position thus supposed for Kadesh, as will appear in the next chapter.

The return route down the 'Arabah was taken with the

intention of passing round the rugged block of Mount Seir, through which the Edomites refused to give Israel a right of passage (Deut. 2. 8, Num. 20. 16, and 21. 4). Between Ezion-geber, thus revisited, and the neighbourhood of Mount Nebo and the plains beneath, six intermediate stations occur (Num. 33. 41-46), in a distance of about 120 miles. Of these only one is known, Dibon-Gad, which, from the order of its occurrence, appears to be the famous Dibon of Moab, now called Dhibân. These stations belong apparently to the final march on the Promised Land, preceding the conquest of the country east of Jordan. We cannot determine where the Israelites sojourned during the thirty-eight years which they passed in the Desert after their retreat from Kadesh, for these camps are not described in the Pentateuch. It has been often assumed that they returned a second time to Kadesh, immediately before their final march to Mount Hor, Ezion-geber, and Moab; but Josephus does not seem to countenance this view. It appears probable that the Deserts of Sin and Kadesh were the scene of the long period of nomadic existence (Num. 20. 1, Deut. 1. 46). That Kadesh was the name not only of a town (Num. 20. 16), but also of a district, we learn from the Psalm (29. 8), and this may perhaps account for the discovery of the name so much as 40 miles west of the probable vicinity of the waters of Meribah.

The outcome of this examination of the Desert topography is, then, that we are able to obtain a very clear general idea of the line of march taken by the Israelites, and of the theatre of their wanderings; but that the loss of names which appear to be simply descriptive (such as Rithmah, 'broom,' or Libnah, 'white'), and may have been given, only at the time of the Exodus, to sites the position of which was soon forgotten, renders it now impossible to gratify our curiosity as to the details of the forty years of wandering.

CHAPTER III.

PALESTINE DIVIDED BY TRIBES.

ON crossing the torrent Arnon the Israelites came into conflict with the two kings of the Amorites, with Sihon, king of Heshbon, and subsequently with Og, a descendant of the Rephaim, whose capital was the old Rephaim capital, Ashtaroth Karnaim, in Bashan.

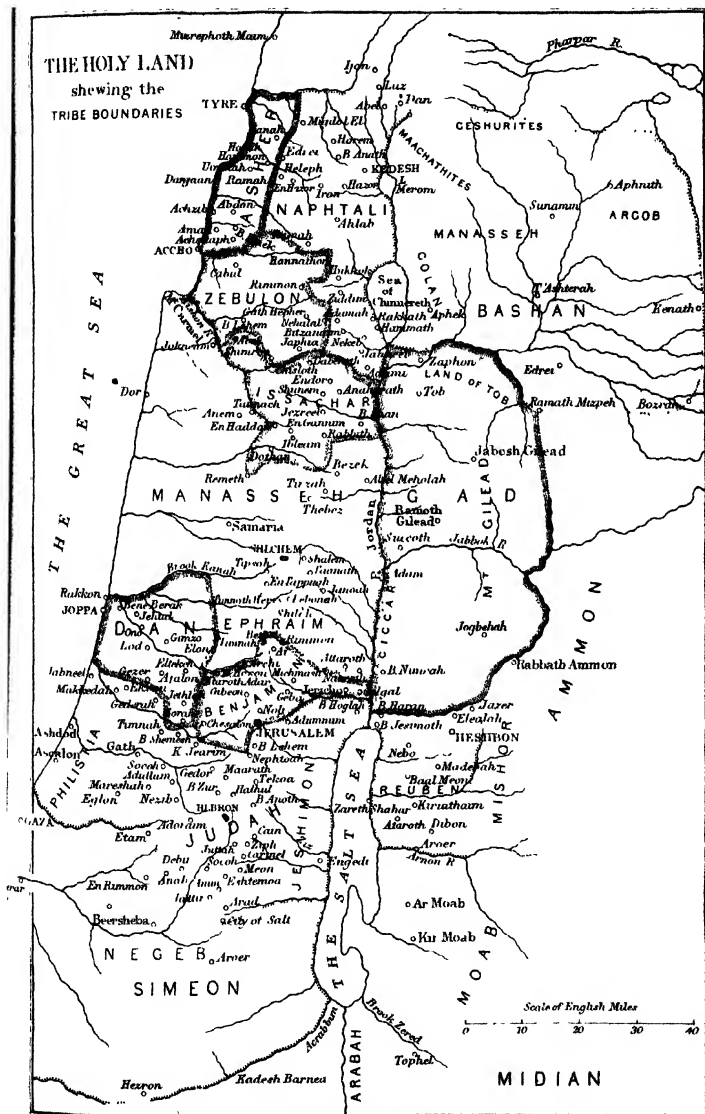
The Arnon is known to be identical with the present Wādy Mojib, east of the Dead Sea; and the site of Aroer (Deut. 2. 36) has been found at 'Ar'air north of the valley, which retained its name as late as the fourth century; in the twelfth century also the Samarito-Arabic version renders the name Arnon by Mojib. South of this limit the Moabite country—principally desert—was not taken by Israel, and the mountains east of Heshbon as far north as the Jabbok (Zerka), were also left to the Children of Ammon. The kingdom of Sihon included all the Mishor or plateau round Heshbon, as far as the Jabbok (Num. 21. 24), and this district, or the northern part of it, is that afterwards mentioned as 'half the land of the children of Ammon' (Josh. 13. 25), to whom, with the Moabites, the kingdom of Sihon had formerly belonged.

The kingdom of Og, including Bashan and half Mount Gilead, was yet more extensive, embracing over 3,000 square miles, while that of Sihon was about 1,500 square miles. The northern kingdom extended from the Jabbok to Hermon, and from Jordan eastwards to Edrei (Edhrâ'a), and even to Salchah (Salkhad), (Deut. 3. 10).

The land thus gained was redivided into three portions, and given to Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh. The new boundaries

THE HOLY LAND

showing the
TRIBE BOUNDARIES



were, however, not less distinctly marked by nature than those of the Amorite kingdoms. The plateau of the Mishor was given to Reuben ; Mount Gilead and the Jordan Valley east of the river to Gad ; and the broad plains of Bashan to Manasseh.

Of the fourteen cities of Reuben five are now well known. Medeba, Heshbon, Dibon, Beth-Baal-Meon, and Kirjathaim in the Mishor district, are identified beyond reasonable doubt. Beth Jesimoth in the Jordan Valley is probably the present ruin of Sucímeh ; but the position of Jazer (Y'azer), the boundary town between Reuben and Gad, is more doubtful. It is perhaps best identified with Beit Zára, near Elealah, about four miles north-east of Heshbon, in which case the present Wády Hesbân was the boundary valley between the tribes.

The territory of Gad extended from Jazer to Mahanaim—a town not yet certainly known either under its present name or under the name Ritmos or Rimus, by which it was apparently known to the later Jews (Midrash Yalkut on 2 Sam. 17. 24). Ramath Mizpeh, another city on this border (Josh. 13. 26), is probably the present Remtheh, about 25 miles west of Bozrah, and a little south of Yermúk or Hieromax, which formed probably the north tribe border. This view is confirmed by the subsequent notice of Maspha in connection with Bozrah (see Chap. V.). The lot of Gad thus embraced all Mount Gilead, the name of which remains unchanged at the present day, in the form Jal'aúd applying to a ruin not far from the mountain called Tell el-Jalúdy. It also included the Jordan Valley as far north as the Sea of Galilee ; and four towns mentioned as belonging to Gad in this valley may be identified by the aid of the Talmudic notices of their later names. Beth Haran is the present ruin Beit Haran ; Beth Nimrah, the later Beth Nimrim, is the present ruin Nimrín ; Succoth is called in the Talmud¹ Tar'ala, and the name has been lately found almost unchanged at the present Tell Dar'ala in the Jordan Valley, about a mile north of the Jabbok. The site has been identified, and the name apparently for the first time discovered by the Rev. Selah Merrill. Zaphon, the fourth

¹ Jerusalem Talmud, *Shebi'ith* 9. 2.

town in the Emek or Jordan Valley (see Josh. 13. 27), is identified by the Talmudists with Amathi, the Amathus of Josephus, now represented by the ruined site of Amâteh, south-east of the Sea of Galilee.

The territory given to the half tribe of Manasseh was of vast extent, being nearly double that of Gad or of Judah, although the census taken before the invasion of western Palestine shows a population less than half that of Judah and only three-quarters that of Gad, for the half tribe of the sons of Joseph remaining east of Jordan. It must, however, be remembered that a great portion of Bashan was desert country, and included the district of Argob (now called el-Lejja) which is a rugged field of basalt, as already noticed (Chap. I., page 206). The Maachathites, near the Jordan springs, and the Geshurites rather farther east, were also not expelled (Josh. 13. 13); and the eastern part of the Haurân as far as Kenath (Kanawât) (Num. 32. 42), with Argob (Deut. 3. 14), was possibly not conquered until a later period (Judges 10. 4).

At the commencement of the Book of Joshua we find the Israelites encamped in the plain now called Ghôr-es-Seisabân from Beth Jesimoth (Sueimeh) to Abel Shittim, 'the acacia meadow' which the Talmud places 12 miles farther north (Tal. Jer. Shebiith 6. 1). The plain is still dotted with the acacia (Sunt); and the rugged summit of Mount Nebo rises abruptly 4,000 feet above it, and still retains its name, with unchanged meaning, in the Arabic Neba, or 'height.' The camps of the Hebrews were thus placed opposite the main ford of Jordan, from which the road led to Jericho along the north bank of the Valley of Achor (Wâdy Kelt), by Gilgal, of which the name is still preserved at the present site of Jiljûlich.

Following the route of the conquerors, we next find them penetrating to the watershed by the road which ascends north of the great valley of Michmash, towards Bethel. Ai, the first city taken after Jericho, was 'beside' Bethel (Josh. 12. 9) and the Hebrew word thus rendered has the meaning 'close to,' for which reason the site which appears most likely, and which agrees in other respects best with the notices in various passages

SOUTHERN PALESTINE

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of the Bible, is that of the ruined town of Haiyân, two miles east of Beitîn or Bethel.

Crossing the ridge in pursuit of the defeated Canaanites, Joshua approached the Maritime Plain by the descent from Bethhoron (Beit 'Ur) and the open valley of Ajalon (Yâlo), and reached the borders of Philistia at Makkedah—probably the present village Moghâr ('caves,') the only place within the district in which Makkedah lay where caves are found (Josh. 10. 17). The campaign was next pushed south-east to Lachish and Libnah, which lay near the low hills of the Shephelah, and thence to Eglop ('Ajlân), rather farther west. Turning due east, the conquerors followed the course of one of the principal valleys to Hebron on the watershed; and a diversion southwards was thence made into the Negeb hills, where Debir (edh-Dhâheriyeh) stood on a flat chalky ridge, about 10 miles from Hebron. Thus the hills, and the south (Negeb), the vale (Shephelah), and the springs were taken (Josh. 10. 40), but the plains of Philistia, even as far east as the city of the Avim (Beit 'Auwa), were left unconquered (Josh. 13. 3).

In the Septuagint Version, the account of the performance of the rites commanded to be observed on Ebal and Gerizim immediately precedes this campaign. According to the Samaritans, however, the conquest of the central portion of the Holy Land was undertaken next. Of such a campaign we have no mention in the Bible, nor is there any account of the invasion of Lower Galilee. After the conquest of Debir, we next find the Israelite army encountering the kings of Upper Galilee, near the Waters of Merom. On their defeat, Hazor fell into the hands of the Israelites—a city which Josephus places above the Lake Semechonitis (Merom), where the name still lingers in the present Jebel Hadîreh and Merj Hadîreh (5 Ant. 5. 1.). The pursuit was prolonged even as far as Mizrephoth Maim (Sarafend), near Sidon, and the country as far as Hermon was at the same time overrun.

In the narrative of Josephus, the building of an altar on Ebal follows next; and it is remarkable that he attributes to Joshua the intention of building a temple (5 Ant. 1. 19),

which agrees with the Samaritan account of Joshua's having replaced the Tabernacle by a permanent building.

The historical part of the Book of Joshua closes with the burial of the great leader at Timnath Serah in Mount Ephraim, and of Eleazar at Gibeah Phinehas, in the same district (Josh. 24. 30, 33). It may be noted in passing that Jewish and Samaritan traditions agree as to the position of these tombs. The first they place at the village Kefr Hâris, where Neby Lush'a has still a sacred place and where Caleb, and Nun the father of Joshua (Neby Nûn) are held by both Jews and Samaritans to have also been buried. The tombs of Eleazar, Phinehas, and Ithamar are shown at 'Awertah, which appears to be the site of Gibeah Phinehas. Thus with Kefr Hâris on the south, 'Awertah on the east, and the tomb of Joseph at its feet on the north, Mount Gerizim forms the centre round which the great heroes of the conquest lie entombed.

That the country thus invaded was not completely subdued by these rapid raids we gather from the frequent notices of further conflicts in the Book of Judges. Debir, though destroyed by Joshua, had to be reconquered by Caleb, and Jerusalem was taken by Judah, but the Jebusites still remained in its fortress in David's time. We find, moreover, a statement of the districts not subdued at the death of Joshua, and consequently, not assigned to any tribe (Josh. 13. 1-6). Philistia in the south, Geshuri under Hermon, the Canaanite lowlands in Phœnicia, and the whole of Lebanon to Hamath, were yet unconquered; and of the 30,000 square miles which are comprised in the territory assigned to Israel by Moses little more than 11,000 were actually possessed. The boundaries of the Holy Land at the time of Christ were substantially the same with those of the country conquered by Joshua; and it was only in the days of Solomon that the Jewish dream of conquest was fully realised, and the Hebrew domination extended from the Red Sea to Euphrates.

The warlike tribes of Judah and Joseph possessed themselves of the conquered country as far as the border of Galilee before any distribution had been made. The territory of Simeon,

Benjamin, and Dan was carved out of that thus appropriated ; and this explains the mention of Gezer in one passage as on the boundary of Ephraim (Josh. 16. 3) and in another (v. 10) as apparently a separate city of this tribe. The children of Joseph alone possessed these separate cities, and the reason is clearly that they retained possession of certain towns while ceding the surrounding territory to the tribes to whom it was allotted by Joshua.

The *Tribe of Judah* possessed the largest share of territory west of Jordan, and the boundaries are more minutely described than those of other tribes. The country which they inhabited included five districts : The 'Arabah or Jordan Valley, the Har or mountain, the Shephelah or low hills, the Negeb or south, and the Jeshimon or Midbar, the desert west of the Dead Sea.

The chief cities of Philistia, with their dependent villages, are also assigned to Judah ; but it is remarkable that none of the Philistine lords are enumerated with the Kings conquered by Joshua (chap. 12), nor are the names of any villages in Philistia enumerated in the lists of the towns of Judah. Philistia was, in fact, never permanently occupied by the Jews at any period of their history.

The south boundary of Judah is described from east to west (Josh. 15), and became afterwards that of Simeon. Although the points mentioned along the border are not all certainly known, there is no doubt that the great mountain wall which extends from the Dead Sea to the watershed south of Rehoboth (er-Ruheibeh), formed the natural and recognized boundary of Palestine, while the River of Egypt is generally supposed to be the present Wâdy el-'Arîsh, the modern boundary between Syria and Egypt. The north branch of this valley (Wâdy el-Abiad) rises near 'Abdeh (Ebodah), south of Rehoboth, and thus carries on the boundary from the mountain rampart. A new identification of importance may be here mentioned, namely, Hezron (Josh. 15. 3), the next point to Kadesh Barnea on the west side. Kadesh has previously been shown (Chap. II., page 250) to lie probably in the neighbourhood of Wâdy el-Yemen, and immediately west of that valley is the mountain called Hadîreh, a

name radically identical with Hezron (the Arabic Dâd being one of the two equivalents of the Hebrew Tsadi) and the form in which the name Hazor is most usually preserved, as at the southern Hazeroth and the Galilean Hazor.

The north boundary of Judah is clearly traceable. It started from the Jordan mouth, but did not apparently follow the river, as Beth 'Arabah and Beth Hogla ('Ain Hajlah), near the boundary, belonged to Benjamin (Josh. 18. 22). Passing along the Valley of Achor, it left Gilgal (Jiljûlieh) on the north, and ascended the rugged pass of Wâdy Kelt to the 'going up of Adummim' (Tal'at ed-Dumm), the ancient and modern name 'bloody' being apparently derived from the brick-red marls here found amid a district of white chalk.

En Rogel, the next known point, being close to Zohemoth (Zahweileh) (1 Kings 1. 9), was evidently the present spring, 'Ain Umm ed-Deraj, in the Kedron Valley. Thence the border ran across the slope (Cataph), besides the Valley (Gai) of Ben Hinnom (Wâdy Rabâhy, see Chap. VII.), south of Jebus, and thus reached the watershed. It then apparently passed along the broad vale (Emek) of Rephaim, which Josephus makes to extend towards Bethlehem (7 Ant. 12. 4). The word 'Emek' shows that this was neither a winter torrent nor a narrow, dry ravine; and it is best identified with its traditional site—the shallow basin west of the watershed south of Jerusalem, now called el-Bukei'a. The line thus indicated agrees with the incidental notice (1 Sam. 10. 2) of Rachel's tomb, which was near Bethlehem (Gen. 35. 16, 19, 20), as being on the border of Benjamin.

The Waters of Nephtoah (M'ain mi-Nephtoah) form the next point on the boundary, and we learn from the Rabbinical commentators (Tal. Bab. Yoma 31a) that these were the same as the En Etam, whence an aqueduct led to the Temple, and thus identical with 'Ain 'Atân, south-west of Bethlehem, which still at intervals supplies the Haram Area at Jerusalem with water through Pilate's Aqueduct. The fine collection of springs in this locality answers to the special meaning of the word M'ain, used in reference to Nephtoah.

From Nephtoah the border was drawn to Kir'ath Jearim, a

city which Josephus places near Beth Shemesh (6 Ant. 1. 4). It appears, therefore, probable that the line followed was the shed of a bold spur running westwards from the neighbourhood of Bethlehem towards Beth Shemesh; and here, four miles east of Beth Shemesh, on the brink of the valley of Sorek, stands the ruin 'Arma, which preserves the later form of the Hebrew Kirjath Arim (Ezra 2. 25). Passing along a mountain called Seir, the border 'crossed over' some valley (such is the precise translation of the Hebrew) to another mountain on the north, and passed over its slope or shoulder (Heb., Cataph). The second mountain was named Jearim ('thickets'), and also Chesalon; the latter name is recognizable in the modern Kesla, and the ridge on which that village stands is still remarkable for the thick corses which cover it.

The border now reached the foot of the watershed mountains, and entered the district of the Shephelah. It passed down the open corn valley of Sorek, beneath the towns of Zoreah and Eshtaol, which were so near the boundary as to be reckoned in different passages as belonging to Judah and to Dan. Passing by Beth Shemesh ('Ain Shemes), the line again 'crossed over' to Timnah (Tibneh), situate in the low hills south of the Valley of Sorek, and thence it extended to the shoulder of Ekron (Cataph Ekron) northwards. Another indication is here afforded by the identification of Naamah of Judah (Joshua 15. 41) with the modern Na'aneh, east of Ekron ('Aker), and we thus find that the line must have passed close to Gezer (Tell Jezer). From this point, therefore, the territories of Judah and of Joseph marched together before the lot of Dan had been assigned within that of Ephraim. Shicron and Mount Baalah, which followed next to Ekron, on the border of Judah, are unknown; but there is no reasonable doubt as to the line indicated, which ran, almost due west, to the stream which falls into the Mediterranean near Jabneel (Yebnah), the last point on the boundary (Josh. 15. 11).

The Boundaries of Benjamin are given with almost as great an amount of detail as those of Judah (Josh. 18. 11-20), and the southern border coincides with that of Judah, east of Kir-

jath Jearim. The northern line, marching with the final border of Ephraim, ran from Jordan to the 'shoulder of Jericho on the north,' and ascended through the mountains to the wilderness of Bethaven, by which is evidently intended the desert north-east of Bethel. Naarath, a place on the borders of Ephraim (Josh. 16. 7), probably formed the boundary between the two tribes. It is described by Josephus as a village, the water supply of which was partly diverted into the plain by Archelaus to water his palm-trees (17 Ant. 13. 1); and by Eusebius (in the Onomasticon) it is placed five Roman miles north of Jericho. At this distance is still found a ruin—now called el-'Aujeh from the 'crooked' valley near it—watered by an aqueduct which has many branches apparently intended for purposes of irrigation. We are thus able to identify the north boundary valley separating Benjamin and Ephraim with one of the main features of the country, having its head north-east of Bethel. Any line farther south would leave several of the towns of Benjamin outside the northern boundary line of the tribe.

The border next ran 'southward' to Bethel, or Luz, on the watershed, and thence to Archi (the modern 'Ain 'Arik), following one of the main valleys towards the Maritime Plain. In the neighbourhood of the Lower Bethhoron a site is specially described at the north-west corner of the territory of Benjamin, namely, 'Ataroth Adar, near the hill that lieth on the south side of the neither Bethhoron.' It is interesting to find the name ed-Dârieh still applying to a ruin on the west slope of the hill in question.

The west border of Benjamin is not specially described: it compassed the west region (Phath Im, rendered 'corner of the sea' in Auth. Vers.) as far as Kirjath Jearim, running, in fact, along the crests of the mountains, above the lower Shephelah hills in which many towns of Dan have been identified.

From the description of the north boundary of Judah, it will be seen that a district south-west of Jerusalem is ascribed to Benjamin; and this is confirmed by the probable identity of Eleph of Benjamin with the present Lifta. At a later period,

however, when the division between Benjamin and Judah seems to have been forgotten, the Septuagint translators ascribe to Judah a group of towns, many of which can be easily identified with places north of Bethlehem and of Rachel's tomb. These towns, eleven in all, are not mentioned in the English Version, and may, therefore, be here enumerated. In the LXX. Version they follow Josh. 15. 60 :—

Theco	now	Tekû'a,	in the territory of Judah.		
Ephrata	„	Beit Lahm	„	„	Judah.
Phagor	„	Faghûr	„	„	Judah.
Ætan	„	'Ain 'Atân	„	„	Judah.
Oulon	„	Kolônia	„	„	Benjamin.
Tatam					
Soris	„	Sâris	„	„	Benjamin.
Carem	„	'Ain Kârim	„	„	Benjamin.
Galem	„	Beit Jâla	„	„	Benjamin.
Bether	„	Bittîr	„	„	Benjamin.
Manocho	„	Mâliah	„	„	Benjamin.

With regard to the last, it may be noted that it is very probably the Manabath of another passage (1 Chron. 8. 6), which was inhabited by men of Benjamin from Geba.

The Territory of Simeon given up by Judah is described by Josephus as 'that part of Idumæa which bordered upon Egypt and Arabia' (5 Ant. 1. 22). In the Book of Joshua it can only be recognized by the seventeen towns included in it, one of which is Azem, previously mentioned (Josh. 15. 4), as on the south boundary of Palestine towards the west. Of the remainder, the following are identified with places on the edge of the southern desert, or on the borders of the Philistine plain :—

Beersheba	now	Bîr es-Seb'a.
Hazar Susah	„	Susîn.
Sharuhen	„	Tell esh-Sherî'ah.
Ain Rimmon	„	Umm er-Rumâmin.
Etam	„	'Aitûn.

Conjectures are possible with regard to many others, but the northern limits of the territory of Simeon are best defined by

the identification of certain towns belonging to Judah, the sites of which are fixed beyond dispute, including Anab, Jattir, Zanoah, and Anim in the hills, Mareshah and Eglon in the Shephelah and plain. From the position of these sites we are able to see clearly that the division between Judah and Simeon was natural—it may be said geological—being the line between the chalky slopes which fall to the Desert, and the cultivated hills of limestone; between the arable land of the Fellahin, and the untilled waste now inhabited by nomadic Bedawin.

It is indeed important to notice that all the tribe boundaries are as a rule main natural features of the country—deep valleys or mountain ridges. Where, as near Kirjath Jearim, the natural boundary is for some special reason not followed, the line of the artificial border is always traced with special minuteness of detail.

The Territory of Dan was carved out of the country of Ephraim. The original border of Ephraim marched with that of Benjamin, and ran out to Gezer, whence it coincided with that of Judah as far as the sea. The Shephelah below Beth horon, and the Sharon plain near Jaffa were, however, given to Dan. No description of the east or south boundaries was necessary, because they were those described for Benjamin and Judah. The north boundary alone should be specified, and this seems to be done very simply by the mention (Josh. 19. 46) of ‘Me-jarkon (“yellow water”), Rakkon, and the border before Japho.’

The recovery of Rakkon, in Tell er-Rakkeit on the shore north of Jaffa, points to the turbid river ‘Aujeh as being the ‘yellow water,’ and the north boundary of Dan is thus defined to the foot of the hills. The various towns of Dan all lie within this border, and the following of them are recovered with certainty :—

Zorah	the present	Sur’ah.
Eshtaol	„	Eshû’a.
Ir Shemesh	„	’Ain Shemes.
Shaalabbin	„	Selbit.
Ajalon	„	Yâlo

Jethlah	the present	Beit Tul.
Ekron	"	'Aker.
Jehud	"	el-Yehûdiyeh.
Bene-berak	"	Ibn Ibrak.
Rakkon	"	Tell er-Rakkeit
Japho	"	Yâfa.

The territory ascribed by Josephus to this tribe (5 Ant. 1. 21) is much larger, extending to Ashdod on the south, embracing Jamnia (Yebnah) and Gath (Tell es-Safy), and reaching on the north to Dora (Tantûrah), thus including all the Plain of Sharon. The southern boundary is, however, not in accordance with the Biblical account, and no towns of Dan appear to have lain north of the 'Aujeh river. That river afterwards formed the boundary of Judæa proper, and the plain north of it was probably not at first conquered from the Amorites (see Judg. 1. 34), and was always considered by the Jews as being a district of mixed Jewish and Samaritan population.

The Territory of Ephraim is somewhat less completely defined than the preceding. According to Josephus, it extended from Jordan to Gezer, and from Bethel to the Great Plain; but it cannot apparently have run north of Shechem, which belonged to Manasseh (Josh. 17. 2). The common border of Ephraim and Manasseh is twice described, and the points recoverable appear to succeed each other in the following order:—

(1), The Brook Kanah (Josh. 17. 9), running into the sea, formed the border along its whole course, and the name is still found in Wâdy Kânah, one of the main drains of the Nablus mountains which rises immediately south of Gerizim, and falls finally into the 'Aujeh river. This line agrees, therefore, with that previously given as forming probably the north border of Dan.

(2), 'The inhabitants of En Tappuah.' This is understood by the Greek translators to include two proper names, Yeshebi Ain Tappuah, being either one place or two close together. It is remarkable that at the head of the Wâdy Kânah is a village called Yassûf, which appears in the Samaritan Chronicle as

Yeshepheh. There are several springs near it, one of which may have been the Hebrew *En Tappuah*, or 'Spring of Apples.'

(3), *Asher ham-Michmethah* is, according to *Reland*, another double name. The meaning is unknown, but it was 'in face of *Shechem*' and north of *En Tappuah* (the expression 'on the right hand,' in *Josh. 17. 7*, being more correctly rendered 'towards the south'). It is possibly the plain of *Mukhnah* which is intended, and which is also the 'Great Plain' of *Josephus*; but it is remarkable that *Gerizim* is not noticed in the account of the boundary which must apparently have followed the foot of the mountain northwards until in sight of *Shechem*.

(4), *Taanath Shiloh* (*Josh. 16. 6*) was east of the last, and is apparently the present ruin of *T'ana*, on the ridge east of the *Mukhnah* plain. The second name *Shiloh* may possibly be connected with that of the neighbouring village of *Sâlim*—the *Shalem* of *Genesis* (33. 18).

(5). *Janohah*, east of which the border next passed, is probably the present *Yânûn*, south of *T'ana*, and we thus trace the line as running along the main watershed above the *Jordan Valley*.

(6), *Ataroth* may perhaps be the present *Tell et-Trûny* in the *Jordan Valley*, close to the hills.

(7), *Naarath* has already been noticed in speaking of the borders of *Benjamin*.

The line is thus traced from west to north, and from north-east to south. The *Jordan Valley* itself does not appear to be included, and as this part of the *Ghôr* is remarkable for its salt marshes, it was perhaps not considered worth allotting to any tribe.

To complete the description, the western boundary of *Ephraim* should be described, but this is done very briefly by the mention of *Ataroth Adar* (*ed-Dârieh*), *Beth-horon* the Upper, and *Michmethah* on the north (*Josh. 16. 5-6*). From the notice of certain towns belonging to *Dan*, and others in *Mount Ephraim*, we may, however, obtain further details. Of

these Elon (Beit Ellú) and Tinnathah (Tibneh) are the most important, belonging to Dan, and occurring just at the edge of the western crests of the watershed range, half way between Beth-horon and the brook Kánah. Kefr Hâris, again, as being the site of Timnath Heres in Mount Ephraim, affords us another limit for the west border; and it appears clear that the boundary in question, like the west border of Benjamin, ran along the crests of the western spurs above the low hills of the Shephelah.

The Boundaries of Manasseh are not described in the Book of Joshua; nor is the south border of Issachar—the tribe marching with Manasseh—given. It is also very remarkable that none of the towns of Ephraim and Manasseh are enumerated, except the separate cities which were in Galilee or Judæa. The only means we have of determining the borders of Manasseh and Issachar is by study of the natural divisions of the country and the recovery of the names of cities enumerated as belonging to the latter tribe.

Josephus gives to Manasseh the land from Jordan to Dora, and we may infer from his account that Carmel also belonged to the sons of Joseph. He gives them also Bethshan as a northern limit, a city which subsequently formed the boundary between Samaria and Galilee; and it thus appears that all the Jordan Valley, from the plains of Jericho to the valley of Jezreel, must have belonged to Manasseh.

In the Book of Joshua, we find that the sons of Joseph, being unable to drive the Canaanites from the Jordan Valley, were given in addition, a wooded mountain beyond mount Ephraim (Josh. 17. 18). It seems clear that the ridge which runs north-west from the watershed to Carmel is here intended, for this part of the country is still in parts covered with dense thickets of oak and mastic, while Carmel is not specified as belonging to any of the other tribes. Moreover, Carmel was always considered as part of Samaria, as will appear in a later chapter, and was consequently in all probability part of the possessions of Manasseh. The cities of Taanach and Ibleam were not in the territory of Manasseh (Josh. 17. 11), and we

thus see that the Plain of Esdraelon formed no part of that tribe's possessions.

The Territory of Issachar included the great central plateau, the north border being partly defined by the description of that of Zebulon, partly by the enumeration of its border towns. On the east the boundary extended from Tabor to Jordan, and there can be but little hesitation in tracing it along the deep gorge of Wâdy Birch: for the towns identified south of that valley belong to Issachar, and those north of it to Naphtali.

The towns of Issachar, 'sixteen cities with their villages,' are enumerated as follow:—

Jezreel	now the village Zer'in.
Chesulloth	„ village Iksâl.
Shunem	„ village Sûlem.
Haphraim	„ ruin el-Farriyeh.
Shihon	
Anaharath	„ village en-N'aûrah
Rabbith	„ village Râba.
Kishion	
Abez	„ ruin el-Beida.
Remeth	„ village Râmeh.
En Gannim	„ village Jenin.
En Haddah	„ village Kefr Adân.
Beth Pазzez	
Tabor	„ village Deburieh.
Shahazimah.	
Beth Shemesh.	

The territory thus indicated includes the whole of the Great Plain and the hills east of it. Remeth, if correctly identified with Râmeh, might however be considered as an outlying village within the border of Manasseh.

The Boundaries of Zebulon are given with much greater detail than those of the central or Samaritan tribes. They are also fortunately easy to follow.

The south border of Zebulon is traced from a place called Sarid westwards and eastwards: Jokneam with the 'torrent' (Nachal) in face of it, may be identified with Tell Keimûn and

the Kishon below it, the course of which was probably followed to the sea. The intermediate station Mar'alah may possibly be represented by the present village of M'alûl.

From Sarid eastwards the line extended to Chisloth Tabor (Iksâl) and Daberath (Dabûrieh), running up by Japhia (Yâfa). In other words, it followed the slope of the Nazareth hills above the Great Plain. Josephus draws the line to the Sea of Galilee, but as will be seen immediately, this does not agree with the Biblical account of the border of Naphtali. The east border of Zebulon ran round to Gath-Hepher (el-Mesh-hed) and thence to Rimmon (Ruminâneh) leaving a broad plateau on the east in which many towns of Naphtali are now identified. The north-east corner of the tribe boundary was Hannathon, which may be identified with the Talmudic Caphar Hanania (Shebiith 9. 2), the modern Kefr 'Anân, at the foot of the mountains of Upper Galilee.

The watershed thus formed the east boundary of Zebulon throughout, and its windings coincide with the curving line of the border. So also in the case of the border of Judah, and in that of Issachar, whenever the boundary runs north and south it follows a watershed. In the cases of Benjamin, Dan, Ephraim, and Asher, the crest of the hills is taken in the same way; and in all cases where the lines run east and west some great natural division of the country appears to have been followed.

The north boundary of Zebulon gives another instance of the same law, running along the valley of Jiphthah-el ('opened by God'), which is evidently the gorge (Gai) leading to the Maritime Plain from the plain of Râmeh, beneath the high mountains of Upper Galilee.

The south boundary of Asher was the north limit of Zebulon towards the west. The points mentioned along this line are Shihor-Libnath, Beth-Dagon, Beth-Emek, Neiel, and Cabul. Of these only the last is known with certainty, and the border passing north (*Shemal*, 'left hand' in the Authorised Version) of this town evidently went along the gorge before noticed, south of which the modern village of Kabûl is found.

Neiel (Han-N'aial) is probably the ruin of Y'anin in the same valley. Beth-Dagon, the point nearest to the sea, may be Tell D'aûk (comparing the Dagon near Jericho now 'Ain Dûk), a mound near the mouth of the Belus. Shihor-Libnath ('river of glass') will in this case be the Belus, where glass was first found, and we cannot produce the boundary of Asher farther south if Zebulon be understood to have extended to the sea (Josh. 19. 11). This remains, however, to a certain extent, a moot point, because Asher is said to have reached to Carmel 'seawards' (Josh. 19. 26). The appropriation of a sandy and marshy shore does not appear to have been considered a matter of sufficient importance to demand detailed explanation. In the blessing of Jacob, however, Zebulon is said to dwell at the Haven of the Sea (Huph), which expression has been thought to refer to the sea-port of Haifa.

The towns of Zebulon are for the most part easily identified, and may be here enumerated. Jokneam is ascribed to Zebulon (Josh. 21. 34). Nahallal is stated in the Talmud (Tal. Jer. Megillah 1. 1) to have been called late Mahlul, and the identification is important as giving another point on the eastern border of the tribe :—

Jokneam of Carmel is the present Tell Keimân.		
Dabbasheth.		
Maralah	„	village M'alâl.
Sarid	„	Tell Shadûd.
Japhia	„	village Yâfa.
Gath Hepher	„	village el-Mesh-hed.
Kazin.		
Rimmon	„	village Rummâneh.
Neah.		
Hannathon	„	village Kefr 'Anân.
Kattath.		
Nahallal	„	village 'Ain Mahil.
Shimron	„	village Semûnieh.
Idalah (Hirieh)	„	ruin el-Huwârah.
Bethlehem	„	village Beit Lahm.

It is probable that three of the unknown names are not those

of towns, for the total given at the end of the verse (Josh. 19. 15) is only twelve.

The Towns of Asher at present known are seven in all, out of a total of twenty-two. Conjectures are possible with regard to many of the rest; but the following are pretty certainly fixed:—

Achshaph	is the present village el-Yâsîf.
Ḥammon	ruin 'Abdeh.
Kanah	ruin el-Hama.
Tyre	village Kânah.
Hozah	town es-Sûr.
Achzib	ruin 'Ozziyeh.
	village ez-Zîb.

The border between Asher and Naphtali is defined by the cities existing along it (Josh. 19. 25), but of these unfortunately little is known. The general division appears to have been the same observed in the south: Naphtali holding the higher mountains, Asher the plain and the lower olive-bearing hills. Heleph of Naphtali (Beit Lîf), Beten of Asher (probably el-B'aneh), and Kanah of Asher (Kânah), are almost the only fixed points on the border; but these serve to show the division to have been the natural one just noticed.

The Territory of Naphtali alone remains to be noticed, including Upper Galilee and the plateau west of the Sea of Galilee. 'Their coast was from Heleph, and the plain of Bitzanannim and Adami, Nekeb, and Jabneel, unto Lakum, and the outgoings were at Jordan.' Such appears to be the correct rendering of Joshua 19. 33. 'And the coast turned to Aznoth-Tabor, and goeth out thence to Hukkok, and reacheth to Zebulon on the south side, and to Asher on the west side' (verse 34).

Heleph, as already explained, is probably Beit Lîf, at the edge of the higher mountains towards the west. Adami is the ruin Admah; Nekeb (the Talmudic Tziidotha, Tal. Jer. Megillah l. 1) is the ruin Seiyâdeh; Jabneel (the Caphar Yama of the Talmud) is Yemma; and we are thus induced to identify Bitzanannim with Bessûm in the same district—an identifica-

tion which agrees well with another notice of the same place, where its name is again connected with that of Tabor (Judges 4. 11).

From 'the ears of Tabor' (Aznoth Tabor) the border went northwards to Hukkok (Yakûk), and beyond this point it is roughly defined by some of the following towns, most of which are now fixed with certainty :—

Ziddim (Caphar Hittai)	is the village of Hattîn.
Zer.	
Hammath	„ Hammâm Tabariya
Rakkath	„ town of Tiberias.
Ohinnereth.	
Adamah	„ village ed-Dâmeh.
Ramah	„ village Râmeh.
Hazor	„ ruin Hadîreh.
Kedesh	„ village Kedes.
Edrei	„ village Y'ater.
En Hazor	„ village Hazîreh.
Iron	„ village Y'arûn.
Migdal-el	„ ruin Mujeidil.
Horem	„ Hârah.
Beth Anath	„ village 'Ainatha.
Beth Shemesh.	

The enquiry which has thus been carried out as to the boundaries of the Tribal territories gives several general results of interest.

1st. The boundaries are shown to be almost entirely natural—rivers, ravines, ridges, and the watershed lines of the country.

2nd. Many of the various tribes are given distinct divisions of the country. Thus Reuben had the Mishor, and Manasseh the plains of Bashan, separated by Gad occupying the intervening mountain region. Issachar had the Great Plain, and Zebulun the low hills north of it. The sons of Joseph held the wild central mountains, and Naphtali those of Upper Galilee: Dan and Asher occupied the rich Shephelah and Maritime Plain; Simeon inhabited the Desert: while Judah, holding the

largest share of territory, had both mountain, and Shephelah, plain, and desert in its portion.

3rd. The enumeration of towns follows always an order roughly consecutive, and all those of one district are mentioned together. This is remarkably the case with regard to the towns of Judah and Benjamin, which, on account of their number, and because they do not add materially to our understanding of the boundaries, have not been noticed in detail in this chapter. (See page 387.)

4th. Taking these various indications together, the topographical chapters of the Book of Joshua appear to form a document intended to give a complete geographical account of the country actually divided among the Tribes; though it is apparently imperfect in that part which relates to the country afterwards included in Samaria. In what manner the sort of survey mentioned by Josephus had been previously made it is not possible to determine, but it is clear that the comparative fertility of various districts was duly considered in calculating the population assigned to each. Josephus expressly tells us that this was the case: 'Joshua thought the land for the tribes should be divided by estimation of its goodness rather than the largeness of its measure, it often happening that one acre of some sort of land was equivalent to a thousand other acres' (5 Ant. 1. 21).

This statement is fully borne out by a comparison of the population of the various tribes, taken from the census made before entering the country (Num 26), with the areas of the various territories occupied by them. The Table attached to this chapter shows the comparative densities of population thus obtained, and the result fully accords with the words of Josephus.

The Book of Numbers, following the custom still in use among the Moslems, counts only the adult male population. Allowing four souls per adult male, we obtain a total population of two and a half millions, which is about equal to that of modern Syria south of Tripoli. The density in the fertile plains of Issachar and Zebulon is, however, more than three times the average density for the mountains of Judah or

Naphtali, while the Desert districts have again less than a tenth of the maximum density of population. The averages may be thus roughly stated :—

Desert Districts	60	souls	per	sqr.	mile.
Mountains	200	”	”	”	”
Shephelah and Plains	700	”	”	”	”

The greatest density is thus made almost to equal that of the present population of Flanders (718 souls per square mile). That of the mountain districts is about the same as in Switzerland; and the general average of 320 souls per square mile is nearly a mean between that of England and Wales (380 souls), and that of Italy (225 souls).

The large number of ancient ruins in the Shephelah district as compared with the mountains agrees with this result; and the distribution of the present population appears to follow the same law. The general average of the population of Syria is now only about 100 souls per square mile, but it is believed that several districts would support ten times this proportion.

It must be remembered that a considerable Canaanite population remained side by side with the Israelite inhabitants. The investigation is, however, specially interesting, because it shows that the division of the land was made in strict accordance with the capabilities of the various districts, implying a previous general knowledge of the resources of the whole country.

The new information concerning the tribal topography due to the Survey of Palestine has been fuller than could have been expected, nearly one-third of the boundary towns being newly identified during the course of the work. It is only in the extreme north—in the territory of Asher—and in the extreme south—the desert of Simeon—that our information remains very imperfect. With regard to the former, it is possible that the ancient nomenclature has been lost by the Druse and Maronite settlers, who form a majority of the population; and in the south it is certain that the Arab immigrants, who now occupy the old territory of Simeon have, with few exceptions, discarded the old names of the ruined sites, substituting modern descriptive titles.

Table showing the Density of Population in the Territories of the Tribes.

Tribes	Number of Males	Decimal	Number of sq. miles	Density No. of males per sq. mile	Remarks
Reuben . .	43,730	·07	400	109	Mountain district
Gad . . .	40,500	·06	1,300	31	" " "
Manasseh $\frac{1}{2}$	29,280	·05	2,500	11	Partly desert
Simeon . .	22,200	·04	1,000	22	" " "
Judah . .	76,500	·13	1,400	55	Mountains
Dan . . .	64,400	·11	400	161	Plains
Benjamin .	45,600	·08	400	114	see 5 Ant. 1. 22
Ephraim .	32,500	·05	300	108	Mountain
Manasseh $\frac{1}{2}$	23,420	·04	1,300	18	Wooded mountain
Issachar .	64,300	·11	400	161	Rich plain
Zebulon .	60,500	·10	300	202	" "
Asher . .	53,400	·09	300	178	" "
Naphtali .	45,400	·07	800	57	Mountain
Totals .	601,730	1·00	10,800	55	General average

Notes.—In the territory of Judah, Philistia has here been included (1,000 sq. miles), but not the uninhabitable Jeshimon Desert (400 sq. miles), giving 1,800 sq. miles as the real total of territory for Judah.

The density of population in the tribe of Dan was probably greater than shown, as they did not conquer the plain and lived in the Shephelah.

Benjamin shows a mean between the density for the plains and for the hills, having the Jericho plain country besides its hill territory.

The male population should probably be multiplied by four to give the total number of souls.

The Canaanites occupied principally the northern part of Sharon, the Plain of Esdraelon, and Bashan.

CHAPTER IV.

PALESTINE UNDER THE JUDGES AND KINGS.

THE episodical history of the Book of Judges gives us no systematic topographical account of Palestine. The places mentioned in that book will be found noticed in the 'Biblical Gazetteer,' and the various stories can now be traced with considerable clearness so far as their topography is concerned. The history is one of constant fluctuations in the Israelite fortunes, of the loss and recovery of territory, of resistance to nomadic incursions, and of the gradual consolidation of the state leading up to the establishment of a kingdom.

The Canaanites who were not exterminated by Joshua held their own after his death. Gaza, Ascalon, and Ekron were indeed taken from the Philistines (Judges 1. 18), but were soon lost again, and the charioteers of the plain country could not be overcome. The Jebusites continued to hold part of Jerusalem. Taanach, Dor, Ibleam, Beth-shean, Megiddo, Gezer, Kitron, Nahalol, Accho, Zidon, Ahlab, Achzib, Helbah, Aphek, and Rehob, Beth-shemesh (of Galilee), and Beth Anath—all of which were towns of some importance, were not captured by the Israelites; and a good part of the territory of Dan, including Aijalon, Shaalbim, and Mount Heres which was part of Mount Ephraim, was still held by the Amorite mountaineers.

It is important also to notice that there was during this period more than one religious centre in the country. Shechem and Bethel had been made sacred in the memory of Israel by the altars which Abraham there erected and which Jacob revisited. Shiloh was the resting-place of Ark and Tabernacle until the time of Samuel; and at a later period Nob or Mizpah,

Gibeon and Kirjath Jearim, became in succession sacred places. It is impossible to say at what period the altar of the Lord repaired by Elijah was first established on Carmel; but that mountain, together with Tabor, was held sacred at a late period of the history of Palestine. The Mishna, speaking of 'high places' such as the above, says that they only became finally unlawful after the building of the Temple in Jerusalem (Zebahim 14. 8).

The Makom (or sacred place) of Shechem by the plain (or oak) of Moreh (Gen. 12. 6) was the site of Abraham's first altar. The same place appears to have been probably the site of Jacob's altar El-Elohe-Israel (Gen. 33. 20). This latter seems also to have been situate by the oak (Elon), where the Teraphim were hidden by Jacob (Gen. 35. 4), for at a rather late period we find mention of the 'oak that was by the Sanctuary of the Lord' (Josh. 24. 26) in Shechem. At this oak Joshua erected a monument, which is again noticed (Judges 9. 6), 'the oak (A. V. plain) of the pillar that was in Shechem.' In the Samaritan Chronicle this Holy oak is noticed under the title *Elon Tubah* 'good oak,' translated in the Arabic *Shejr el-Kheir* 'tree of grace.' In the Samaritan Book of Joshua—a mediæval compilation from older sources—the same site appears under the title *Balâta*, derived from the Aramaic word *Ballut* (an oak). St. Jerome connects the site of *Balanus* near Joseph's tomb with the Oak of Shechem; and we are thus able to trace the site in the neighbourhood of the present village of *Balâta*, close to Jacob's well and Joseph's tomb, thus placing the altar within the parcel of ground bought by the Patriarch. The modern Samaritans point to a modern sacred place, called *el-'Amûd* ('the pillar') rather farther west, but their older tradition is naturally to be regarded as more authentic.

Abraham's second altar was built on the hills east of Bethel and west of Ai, consequently close to the former town (Gen. 12. 8). It was possibly the Makom (rendered 'place' in our version), near Luz or Bethel, where Jacob's vision occurred (Gen. 28. 11), and where he afterwards built the altar *El-Bethel*. In the time of Phinehas we find the Ark either tem-

porarily or permanently established at Bethel. In our version the name is translated 'house of God' (Judges 20. 26-27), but Josephus understands the city Bethel to be intended (5 Ant. 2. 10). Again, in the days of Samuel we find mention of 'three men going up to God to Bethel' (1 Sam. 10. 3).

Bethel having been thus for so long a period a religious centre, there would have been nothing revolutionary in the eyes of the Israelites in its re-establishment by Jeroboam as a sacred city. It is, however, possible that the Bethel of this latter period was not the well-known town of Benjamin, but rather a site near Shechem. In the Middle Ages the two mountains Dan and Bethel were shown as being spurs of Ebal and Gerizim. Both names are still preserved: Râs el-Kady 'hill top of the judge' (Dan) is part of Ebal, and the ruin of Lôzeh is the Luz or Bethel of the Samaritans on Gerizim. It may perhaps have been this heretical Bethel which was chosen by Jeroboam as the site of his Calf Temple, and among other indications pointing to such a surmise it may be noted that though Bethel of Benjamin was taken and fortified by the kings of Judah, no mention is then made of the destruction of the Calf Temple of Bethel which still existed in the later days of Jehu (2 Chron. 13. 19; 2 Kings 10. 29), and of Josiah (2 Kings 23. 15).

The Tabernacle established by Joshua in Shiloh (5 Ant. 1. 19) remained there until the days of Eli, at which time the Ark was also with it (1 Sam. 3. 3). After the death of Eli the Tabernacle, according to the Mishna (Zebahim 14. 8), was taken to Nob; and from the fact that the shew bread was eaten by David at Nob (1 Sam. 21. 6) it appears clear that the Tabernacle must have been there standing in his time. It was afterwards taken to Gibeon (2 Chron. 1. 3), where was a *Bamah* or 'high place,' which in the early days of Solomon formed the chief religious centre (1 Kings 3. 4). The transference from Nob was probably due to the savage massacre of the priests in that city by Saul.

The Ark having been taken from Shiloh, and after wandering through Philistia, was brought to Beth Shemesh, to Kirjath Jearim, to Perez-Uzzah, and finally to a tent in Jerusalem. It

never re-entered the Tabernacle; but the latter, with the Ark, was finally brought to the Temple at Jerusalem (1 Kings 8. 4; 1 Chron. 9. 19; 2 Chron. 1. 4).

Another centre of gathering for Israel was Mizpeh, which is described in the Hasmonean period as being 'over against Jerusalem,' and as the place 'where they prayed aforetime in Israel' (1 Macc. 3. 46).

In Mizpeh the Israelites gathered from the time of Phinehas (Judges 20. 1) to that of Samuel (1 Sam. 7. 6); and from the expression 'before the Lord' used in the latter passage, and also used in reference to Shiloh (1 Sam. 1. 12), it seems probable that the Tabernacle was in Mizpeh at the latter period. The best explanation of this apparent difficulty seems to be that Nob and Mizpeh were the same place. The names have a similar meaning, 'height' and 'watch tower.' Nob was on the main north road, apparently in sight of Jerusalem (Isaiah 10. 32); Mizpeh is thought to be the Sapha of Josephus (11 Ant. 8, 5) which occupied the same site; and, as above noticed, the words of the First Book of Maccabees also indicate the same position for Mizpeh, which belonged to Benjamin (Josh. 18. 26; 1 Macc. 3. 46). Nob and Mizpeh are never mentioned in the same passage, and the later name Nob does not occur in the topography of the Book of Joshua.

A gradual change is to be marked during the period of the Judges in the relations between the Israelites and the other Semitic settlers of the country. The Jewish possessions east of the Jordan appear to have gradually extended (Judges 10. 4), and the prohibition to annex the land of Ammon and Moab (Deut. 2. 9 and 37) was disregarded after a dispute had arisen on the question (Judges 11). From this time onwards the Ammonites are reckoned in the same category with the Canaanites as enemies of Israel.

External light of great value is thrown on the topography of this period by the discovery of a hieratic MS. of the time of Rameses II., giving an account of the travels of an Egyptian officer, called a Mohar, in Palestine. He is described as journeying in a chariot, and his route lay therefore presumably

in the plains. From the fact that he notices the neighbourhood of the Sea of Galilee as being a place of meeting for Mohars, we may perhaps conclude that these officers—apparently revenue collectors—were employed in levying taxes on the Canaanites. We may compare the mention of his chariot, and the fact that he journeys through the plains of Sharon, Esdraelon, Philistia, and Phœnicia, with the Biblical statement, that the Canaanites who lived in the plains and had chariots of iron were not driven out by the Israelites (Josh. 17. 16). The period of the Mohar's journey appears to precede the time of the servitude under Midian; and it seems that the country conquered by Thothmes, which has been shown, in the last chapter, to have lain in the plains of Lower Galilee and in the Philistine and Negeb districts, still remained under Egyptian rule at the time of the Mohar's journey.

The document is divided into five sections,¹ and the places most easily identified may be mentioned briefly as follows:—

In the first section the general scene of the Mohar's travels appears to be defined: including the country of the Kheta (Hittites) and the Land of Aup, which seems to have been in the north of Palestine. Tzal of Sesostriis (Zoan or Tanis) and a Kodesh of doubtful locality are also noticed with the Shasus and Shua mountain tribes which inhabited, according to Egyptian scholars, the deserts of Idumæa.

The second section contains the names of the principal Phœnician towns: Kapaon (Geba), Berytus (Beirut), Sidon, Tyre, Sarepta (Surafend), and a river Nazana, apparently the Leontes.

In the third section the journey down the coast is continued. Pa-Kana-na is apparently Kanah of Asher (the Pa and Na being an Egyptian affix and suffix). Aksap is the Aksapu of Thothmes III., the Biblical Achshaph (el-Yasif). Hazor and Hamata follow, the latter as appears from the subsequent route being the Biblical Hammath, situate by the hot springs, south of Tiberias, from which springs its name was derived. The Hazor of the narrative seems probably represented by the

¹ See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii.

present ruin Hazzûr, on the direct route by the broad valley of er-Râmeh, from Achshaph towards the Sea of Galilee. Tar-kaal, which follows Hammath, is probably Taricheæ, an important city at the south end of the Sea of Galilee (as described by Josephus and Pliny), which is represented by the present large ruin of Kerak. The last name in the section is Mataimim, which has caused some difficulty to translators. *Mat* appears to mean 'land,' and the word *Yemim*, as has been remarked in a previous chapter, really signifies 'hot springs' (as noted by St. Jerome in Gen. 36. 24). Nothing can be more appropriate than the description of the Jordan Valley between Tiberias and Beth-shean as the 'land of hot springs.'

The fourth section of this interesting document appears to commence with a notice of another district, prefaced by the remark, 'I will speak to thee of towns other than the preceding.' Eleven names follow, all being cities of the Land of Takhis, except the last. The district cannot be said to be positively identified, since some authorities have placed it in the south of Palestine; but the last town of the list is said to be on the frontier of the Land of Aup, which was a northern district. Takhis is mentioned in the time of Thothmes III.,¹ apparently as situated in the north of Palestine. The following are the towns of the Land of Takhis, with the identifications which appear most probable:—

Egyptian	Hebrew	Arabic
1. Cophar Marron	—	Meirûn
2. Tamena	—	Tibnin
3. Kodesh	Kadesh Naphtali	Kedes
4. Dapul	Diblath	Dibl
5. Atai or Ajai	—	—
6. Har Nemmata	—	—
7. Kariath Anab	—	—
8. Beth Tuphar	—	—
9. 'Aduram (or Adulam)	Edrei	Y'ater
10. Tziphoth	Seph	Safed
11. Khaureta (in Aup)	Harosheth	el-Harathiyeh

If the above identifications be correct, the district indicated by the name Takhis lay immediately north of the Mohar's route, in the mountains of Naphtali, while Aup appears to have been part of Lower Galilee; and the episode thus follows naturally on the account of his journey to Hammath.

The narrative of the journey is taken up again with the words 'Come then to Pnsta Sina' ('image of Sina'—an Egyptian god); and the names of Rohob, Beith-Sheal, Kariathal, Jordan (or Jelden), and Megiddo follow; clearly indicating a route southwards, from Tarichæ to Beth-shean, near which is Tell er-Rehâb, the Roob of the fourth century; while the river forded is either Jordan, or more probably Wâdy Jalûd, running from the spring of that name, as there is no notice of a second passage of any river between Megiddo and Joppa. In the Book of Judges a portion of Gilboa also appears to be intended by the expression 'Mount Gilead' (Judg. 7. 3), showing the name Jalûd to be very ancient.

The travels of the Mohar are continued from Megiddo across a rugged country with a deep ravine, in which his chariot is damaged. It appears that he must have crossed the watershed; and the fact that this is the only portion of the narrative which records any difficulty from the nature of the country seems clearly to show—as does the identification of the places visited—that his route lay generally in the plains.

The Mohar next arrives at Jaffa, his chariot is repaired, and he thence returns to Tanis. In the last section various places in the extreme south of Palestine are mentioned, including Atzion or Hazion (Mount Casius), Rehoboth, Raphia, and Gaza.

Such is a brief account of this interesting document, which appears in all its details consistent with the Biblical accounts of Palestine under the Judges.

The Books of Samuel contain several knotty points of topography; but the reader is referred to the Biblical Gazetteer, as affording all the reliable information obtainable on these subjects. The romantic history of David may be also rendered distinct by following the line of his wanderings on the map. It is not, however, until the time of the consolidation of the

Jewish Kingdom under Solomon that any further important questions of general geography in the Holy Land arise.

The kingdom inherited by Solomon had been carved by the sword of David. The Philistines had been driven back to their plains, retaining, however, the strongholds of Gath and Gezer at the edge of the hill country. The capital of the Ammonites—Rabbah—had been taken, and the census embraced all the Holy Land, from Beersheba to Sidon, ruled by the King at Jerusalem. In the time of Solomon Gezer was taken by the Egyptians and given as the dower of his Egyptian wife (1 Kings 9. 16). Hamath was conquered (2 Chron. 8. 3, 4); and the whole of the country west of the river Euphrates (Heb. *Nahar*) as far as Gaza on the south was reckoned as being subject to Solomon (1 Kings 4. 24, 2 Chron. 9. 26). The land of the Philistines is not, however, included, and the Canaanites were not exterminated, but reduced to pay tribute (2 Chron. 8. 7).

The population of Jewish origin at this time numbered 1,300,000 fighting men (2 Sam. 24. 9), which represents a total of 5,000,000 souls, or double the population of the time of the Conquest. This represents an average of about 500 souls per square mile, or more than the present population of Switzerland. The present population of the same extent of country is supposed not to exceed 650,000 souls.

At this period of Jewish history we first find mention of seaports. The cedar rafts from Lebanon were brought to Joppa (2 Chron. 2. 16), and the fleets of Solomon went yearly from Ezion-geber at the head of the Gulf of Akabah (1 Kings 9. 26).

The city of Tadmor in the Syrian Desert, founded by Solomon, is identified by Josephus (8 Ant. 6. 1) with Palmyra, which is still called Tadmôr by the Damascenes. Hazor, Megiddo, Bethhoron, Gezer, and Baalath (of Dan) were also among the cities fortified during this period.

The dominions of Solomon were divided into twelve provinces, each with an officer appointed over it. A very slight examination shows that these twelve divisions corresponded

roughly to the tribes of Israel, without counting Simeon and considering the two halves of Manasseh to be separate tribes. The first province (1 Kings 4. 7) was Mount Ephraim. The second, including Shaalbim, Beth-shemesh, and the plain of Beth Hanan (Beit 'Anân), corresponds apparently to the territory of Dan. The third district, called Aruboth, is denominated by Josephus, 'the toparchy of Bethlehem' (8 Ant. 2. 3), and included the Shephelah of Judah, near Sochoh, and the land of Hephher, apparently near Hebron (Josh. 12. 17); the toparchy was therefore coextensive with the land of Judah. The fourth province, 'the region of Dor,' corresponds to the land of Manasseh. The fifth, including Taanach, Megiddo, Beth-shean, Zartanah (Tell es-Sârem), Jezreel, and on the south Abel Meholah ('Ain Helweh), was equivalent to the tribe territory of Issachar, or, as Josephus states, to 'the Great Plain' and 'all the country as far as Jordan.' The sixth province, including the towns of Jair, the land of Argob, and Bashan, corresponds to Manasseh beyond Jordan, or, according to Josephus, included Gaulonitis and Gilead. The seventh had its capital at Mahanaim, and corresponded to the tribe of Gad. The eighth province was Naphtali. The ninth was Asher, with its capital at Aloth ('Alia). The tenth, though called Issachar in the Biblical account, included apparently only the northern part of the territory of that tribe, and also embraced the territory of Zebulun. Josephus renders it 'Mount Tabor and Carmel and Galilee as far as the river Jordan.' The eleventh province was Benjamin; and the twelfth 'the cities of Sihon, king of the Amorites,' corresponded no doubt to the land of Reuben.

It is remarkable that the name of Simeon, as a tribe, does not occur in this passage, nor was the territory of Simeon made into a separate province. There are, however, indications that the tribe of Simeon had either become extinct about this period; or, living a nomadic life, in the Negeb Desert apportioned to the tribe, had become fused with the Edomites, and no longer belonged to the Hebrew nation. On the division of the Kingdom after Solomon's death 'ten tribes' revolted

(1 Kings 11. 31), and only Judah and Benjamin remained loyal to the House of David. It seems, however, difficult to suppose that Simeon in the extreme south is to be counted among the ten, as it could scarcely have formed any part of the Northern Kingdom.

In another Biblical passage we find the cities of Simeon mentioned as belonging to that tribe 'unto the reign of David' (1 Chron. 4. 31); while at a later period they are enumerated as belonging to Judah (1 Kings 19. 3, Neh. 11. 25). The 'strangers' of Simeon are noticed as assisting King Asa (2 Chron. 15. 9); and the prophecy of Jacob seems thus to have been accomplished in the case of Simeon: 'I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel' (Gen. 49. 7). In the 1st Book of Chronicles (4. 27-43) we find an account of various migrations of the tribe of Simeon, some of whom established themselves in Mount Seir, while others wandered apparently towards Egypt.

The division of the Kingdom on the accession of Rehoboam did not exactly agree with the geographical boundaries of the tribes. Zorah and Aijalon, fortified by the King of Judah, were towns of Dan beyond the border of Benjamin, and the frontier on the north was, on the other hand, within the old north border line of the last-mentioned tribe.

From the list of the border fortresses established by Rehoboam, we may gather the boundaries of the Kingdom of Judah in his time.

On the north-west was Aijalon, and on the west the border was protected against the Philistines by the forts of Zorah, Azekah, Gath, Shochoh, Adullam, Lachish, Adoraim, and Mareshah; Hebron and Ziph were on the border of the Edomites; and the defences against the desert tribes were Bethlehem, Tekoa, Etam (near Bethlehem), and Bethzur on the watershed. The area thus enclosed was about 2,300 square miles.

The northern boundary was formed by the strong valley of Michmash, dividing the land of Benjamin in two. Even in the time of Josiah, Geba, on the south bank of this valley,

formed the north limit of the Kingdom of Judah (2 Kings 23. 8), and the same boundary is referred to at the time of Ezra (Zech. 14. 10).

The town of Ramah, close to Geba, was fortified by Baasha, king of Israel (2 Chron. 16. 1), but was soon destroyed; Mizpeh and Geba being built from its ruins (verse 6). The full extent of the land of Benjamin was apparently only held by Abijah, when Bethel, Jeshanah ('Ain Sînîa), and Ephraim (Taiyibeh) were taken from Jeroboam (2 Chron. 13. 19).

While the capital of Judah remained fixed at Jerusalem, the political capital of the Northern Kingdom was constantly shifted. The palace of Jeroboam was at Shechem (1 Kings 12. 25), but his native town was Zereda (1 Kings 11. 26), probably the present Surdeh, in Mount Ephraim, a city mentioned several times in an inserted passage of the Septuagint Version (1 Kings 12. 24-25).

The capital of Baasha was at Tirzah (1 Kings 15. 33), where the earlier kings of Israel appear to have been buried. Tirzah is probably the modern Teiasir, near Thebez (Tubás), a village with numerous ancient rock sepulchres.

Samaria, the third capital, was bought from Shemer by Omri (1 Kings 16. 21), and eight kings were buried there. The necropolis of Samaria remains, however, still to be discovered.

Ramah seems at one time to have been intended for a royal residence before the choice of Tirzah as a capital (1 Kings 15. 21).

In the time of Rehoboam the topography of Palestine is partially elucidated by an Egyptian inscription recording the conquests of Shishak, who took Jerusalem and the fenced cities of Judah in the 5th year of the son of Solomon. A great number of the places mentioned are still unidentified; and the barbarous spelling of the Hebrew names by the Egyptian scribe, together with the impossibility of distinguishing the hieroglyphic letters L and R, K and G, T and D, makes the certainty of transliteration less than could be wished. The following, however, appear to be the most certain:—

Egyptian	Hebrew	Arabic
Rabatu	Rabbith	Rāba
Taanaca	Taanach	T'ānnuk
Shenema	Shunem	Sūlem
Bath Shanlau	Beth Shean	Beisān
Rahaba	—	Tell er-Rehāb
Haphurimu	Haphraim	el-Farriyeh
Keb'a-na	Gibeon	el-Jīb
Bath Auren	Beth Horon	Beit 'Ur
Aiulen	Aijalon	Yālo
M'aceda	Makkedah	el-Moghār
Adira	Ataroth Adar	ed-Dārieh
Yudah M'alek	Jehud	el-Yehudiyeh
Haanem	Beth Hanan	Beit 'Anān
Bath Almeth	Alemeth	'Almit
Shauka	Shochoh	Shuweikeh
Bath Taphu	Beth Tappuah	Tuffūh
Aauzama	Azmon	—

It will be remarked that two of the frontier fortresses of Rehoboam—Shochoh and Aijalon—appear certainly in this list, and others may be suspected in the less perfectly translated names. The territory included in the list is, however pretty much the same as that conquered by Thothmes III., and visited by the Mohar, namely, the Plains of Sharon and Esdraelon. The name Yudah M'alek was originally rendered 'Kingdom of Judah' by Champollion; but its occurrence among the towns of Dan—Aijalon, Beth Hanan, and others, seems to point to the greater probability of its representing the town of Jehud in their immediate neighbourhood.

Another list, belonging to Assyrian history contemporary with the reign of Hezekiah and referring to towns in the same district, is that of Sennacherib's victories.¹ In this the names of Beth Dagon (Beit Dejan, near Jaffa); Banai-Barka, the Biblical Beni-Berak (Ibn Ibrak); Al Taku, evidently Eltekeh of Dan (Beit Likia); and Timna, or Timnatha, of Dan (Tibneh), occur with a Hazor, which is possibly Yazūr, near Jaffa. These towns must have been taken during Sennacherib's advance on

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 302-305.

Lachish and Libnah, farther south. The 'plains of Altaku' are mentioned in the text, which agrees with the position of Beit Likia, on the edge of the broad vale of Aijalon, at the foot of the mountains. In this same inscription, Zidon, Zarephath, Hozah, Achzib, Accho, Samaria, Ashdod, Ascalon, Ekron, and other seaside towns, are also mentioned.

The later history of the two Kingdoms is a gloomy record of continual loss of territory. The country east of Jordan was overrun by the Moabites and Ammonites, who appear as enemies of Israel, and no longer as nearly connected by descent from a common ancestor. They even advanced by the southern shores of the Dead Sea to Engedi and the cliff of Ziz (Hasâsah), but were defeated by Jehosaphat, south of Bethlehem, near the frontier fortress of Tekoa (2 Chron. 20. 20).

The southern port of Ezion-geber remained in the hands of the Jews as late as the time of Uzziah (2 Chron. 26. 2), and an unsuccessful naval expedition thence is recorded in the time of Jehosaphat (2 Chron. 20. 36); in the time of Ahaz, however, the town appears to have been lost (2 Kings 16. 6), being taken by the Syrians, and never afterwards recovered.

The seaport of Joppa was also in all probability lost: for the Philistine encroachments gradually not only swallowed up the Maritime Plain and the Negeb, but in the time of Ahaz they had so completely overrun the Shephelah (rendered 'low country' in our version) that even the frontier fortress of Shochoh, built by Rehoboam as a last line of defence on this side of his kingdom, had fallen into their hands. Beth-shemesh ('Ain Shemes), and Gederoth (Jedîreh), in the territory of Judah were also taken; Aijalon (Yâlo), Timnah (Tibneh), and Gimzo (Jimzû), in the territory of Dan (2 Chron. 28. 18). On the south the Edomites also encroached on the unhappy kingdom, and the extent of country ruled by Ahaz did not probably exceed the small area of 300 square miles—a sad contrast to the 30,000 square miles of Solomon's Kingdom.

Before speaking of the later period after the Captivity, a few words may be devoted to the site of a town of some importance in Jewish history, namely, Megiddo. It has been

generally assumed that the site of the Byzantine Legio (Lejjûn), west of the Great Plain of Esdraelon, and near Taanach, is that of the earlier Megiddo. The only reason appears to be that the site is important and well watered. No ancient author notices any connection between the two towns Legio and Megiddo, although it may be likely that the frequent mention of Taanach and Megiddo together shows that they stood near each other.

Megiddo was apparently situated near a mountain (Har Megiddon), and a plain was named from it (Hebrew *Bikath Megiddo*). There was also a stream by the city—'the waters of Megiddo' (Judges 5. 19), and from this last passage a proximity to Taanach (now Tânnuk, west of the Great Plain) might be inferred: the term *Bikath* also is strictly applicable to the Great Plain, and to no other feature of the district. On the other hand, the name Megiddo appears still to survive at an important ruin in the plain of Beisân, at the foot of Gilboa. The site is that of a large and ancient town, and the modern name Mujedd'a preserves a final guttural which is often interchangeable with a final Nun in Hebrew. There are fine springs at the site, with a stream which might well represent the 'waters of Megiddo.' The plain to the east might be the *Bikath Megiddo*, though it would more strictly be called *Emek* from its depression; the rugged mountain behind would be the *Har Mageddon*. It is also worthy of note that Jezreel and Beth-shean occur with Megiddo in all the passages except one (Judges 5. 19), where Taanach is mentioned.

The Egyptian and Assyrian records do not as yet cast much light on this subject. The Megiddo of Thothmes and of the Mohar might have been either east or west of the Great Plain. The question is therefore at present incapable of determination; but the recovery of the name is a matter of considerable importance.

The territory reoccupied by the Jews under Nehemiah is clearly indicated by the names of its various towns (Ezra 2. 21-35, Neh. 7. 24-38, Neh. 11. 25-35). None of the places there mentioned were north of the old boundary at Bethel, but many cities of Dan and Simeon were included. The children of

Judah repopled the land, from Jerusalem to Beersheba and from Jericho to Lachish. The Benjamites reoccupied the whole of their old tribe territory, and part of that properly belonging to Dan including the districts Lod (Lydda), Hadid (Hadithéh), Ono (Kefr 'Ana), and Zareah (Sur'ah). The towns of Simeon, repopulated by Judah were Moladah, Hazar-Shual, Beersheba (Bir es-Seb'a), Ziklag, and En-Rimmon (Umm er-Rumâmin).

Of the forty-nine cities reoccupied no less than fourteen have names which do not appear in the topography of the earlier books of the Bible, and these towns were possibly not so old as those mentioned in the Book of Joshua. Many of the more recent towns can be easily identified: Hariph is probably the ruin Kharûf in the Hebron district. Netophah is Umm Toba near Bethlehem. Nebo is probably Nûba farther south; Elam (Beit 'Alâm), and Harim (Beit Kheirân) are in the Shephelah west of Hebron, and Jeshua near Beersheba is no doubt the ancient ruin of S'awi, east of Bir es-Seba'. In the country of Benjamin, Ananiah is the present Beit Hanina, Hazor is the ancient ruin of Hazzûr near the last, and Charashim is the ruin of Hirsha east of Lydda. The town of Azmaveth (Hizme) is also only noticed in the topographical lists of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah (1 Chron. 8. 36).

The country thus indicated had an area of about 2,000 square miles—a district about equal to the whole kingdom of Judah at its most prosperous period. Philistia remained as ever unconquered, but the Idumæans seem to have been driven back to their deserts. It is worthy, finally, of notice that in the time of Nehemiah the Arabs appear almost for the first time among the enemies of the Jews, with the Ammonites, Samaritans, and Philistines of Ashdod (2 Chron. 21. 16; Neh. 4. 7).

In conclusion of this chapter a few words on the topography of the Book of Judith will not be out of place; for whatever be the real character of that work, it cannot be doubted that the author was intimately acquainted with the country lying between Shechem and the Great Plain of Esdraelon, and that the places mentioned occur in their proper relative position.

The whole of Galilee and Philistia, the neighbourhood of Damascus, and the country east of Jordan are represented in this book as having been conquered by Nebuchadnezzar; and the army of Hophernes advanced from the north on the hill country of Samaria and Judæa. The cities fortified against his advance occupied the main strategic lines of march. Beth-horon guarded the usual line from the plain of Sharon to Jerusalem. Belmen (Bel'ameh) was on the main north road, at the entrance from the Great Plain to the Samaritan hills. Jericho lay on the route from the east, Choba (Mekhobbi), Esora ('Asîreh), and Salem (Sâlim) were on the line of advance from the Jordan Valley to the watershed near Shechem (Judith 4. 4). Bethulia and Betomestham (v. 6), both 'over against Esdraelon,' towards the open country near to Dothaim,' require a more particular notice; but, with the rest, they were fortified as posts, to protect 'the passages into the hill country.'

Betomestham is probably recognizable in the ancient ruin of Massin occupying a strong position on a rugged hill west of the little plain of Râmeh, about 5 miles south-west of Dothan (Tell Dothân). The position guards an advance on Shechem, by either the route leading past Dothan, or by that from the Maritime Plain on the west.

The town of Bethulia has been sought in very various directions. The Crusaders placed it north of the Sea of Galilee, and modern authorities have placed it near Jezreel. Yet its position is very clearly indicated in the Book of Judith. It guarded the entrance to the hills near Dothan, and was situated on a hill, with a higher mountain near it, and a plain or valley with springs below. Just such a site may be found in the village of Mithilia, about 4 miles south-east of Tell Dothân; and the change from B to M is so easily made in Hebrew (as in the well-known case of Jabne or Jannia) that the transformation from Bethulia to Mithilia might naturally occur.

The village stands on a hill slope which rises south of it into a higher knoll ('the top of the hill,' Judith 6. 12). It is surrounded with olive groves, and on the north is a plain. From the ridge on the south-west, over which the main road from

Shechem to Jenîn now passes, the first view of the Great Plain is obtained.

The army of Holophernes stretched over the Great Plain as far as Cyamon (Tell Keimûn), and reached from Dothaim on the west to Belmain (Bel'ameh) immediately north of Bethulia on the east. It appears to be intimated that from the neighbourhood of Bethulia the Assyrian host was visible (Judith 7. 4), which would have been quite possible from the hills near Mithilia.

The advance of the children of Esau south and east from Dothan mentioned in the same chapter (Judith 7. 18) was directed against Ekrebel, near Chusi, on the Brook Mochmur. "These places are best identified with 'Akrabeh, Kuzah, and Wâdy el-Ahmar, south and south-east of Shechem, within a day's march of Tell Dothân. The Cola mentioned in Judith 15. 4 is very possibly the ruin of Kâ'un in the Jordan Valley, on the road from Chobai (Mekhobbi) northwards.

The most remarkable peculiarity of this topography, as a whole, is that all the places thus noticed lie within the limits of Samaria, but that the towns are nevertheless said to have been fortified by order of Joachim the High priest in Jerusalem (Judith 4. 6).

CHAPTER V.

PALESTINE DURING THE HASMONEAN PERIOD.

PALESTINE having passed peacefully from the control of the Persians to the Greek Monarchy was ruled under the Seleucidæ by governors appointed by the king at Antioch. It seems probable that at the time of the Hasmonæan revolt the Greek capital was placed at Shechem, for Appollonius advanced from Samaria on the first appearance of the rebel army under Judas (1 Macc. 3. 10).

The scene of the first outbreak—the home and burial-place of the Hasmonæans—was a town not previously noticed in Jewish topography. Modin was in sight of the sea (1 Macc. 13. 29), and, according to the Talmud, was at least fifteen miles from Jerusalem (Tal. Bab. Pesachim, 3*b*. 93*b*). In the fourth century it is described by St. Jerome as ‘a village near Diospolis (Lydda), whence were the Maccabees, whose tombs are still shown there.’ (Onomasticon, s. v.) We can have but little hesitation therefore in identifying the town with the present village of *el-Medyeh*, about sixteen English miles north-west of Jerusalem, five miles west of the Lower Bethhoron, and about seven miles east of Lydda. From the remarkable knoll immediately south of the village the sea is plainly visible, and remains of rock-cut tombs are still found there. On the ridge west of the village is a necropolis of tombs, which from their plan are probably of the early Christian period. They are now called *Kabûr el-Yehûd*, ‘tombs of the Jews.’ On the same ridge a little farther north is another tomb of good masonry, with a tessellated floor, having on it a well-defined Latin cross. This tomb was, until lately, supposed to be that of the Maccabees, especially because it is in

full view of the sea. It is, however, evidently Christian, but the fourth-century tradition may be thought to be represented by the lingering title of the neighbouring necropolis.

Modin has been at various times supposed to be identical with various sites farther south, but the whole history of the Hasmonean struggle is best explained by the position of the site now recovered. The repeated battles at Bethhoron and in its immediate neighbourhood were no doubt due to the gathering of Jewish forces at the native town of the Hasmoneans; and the new fortress of Adida erected by Simon served to protect Modin from Greek invasion.

The first campaigns undertaken against Judas had for their object the capture of the mountains round Jerusalem; and the three unsuccessful attempts of the Greek generals were directed against the three main roads which led to the Jerusalem watershed, from the north-west, west, and south-west. On the first occasion Seron the military commander from Coele-Syria advanced to the ascent of Bethhoron, the shortest route from Sharon, passing by Modin, and reaching a steep pass, where there is an ascent of 560 feet in less than half a mile. Such a position was easily defended by a small force, especially as the Greek general was probably taken by surprise.

The second battle was fought near Emmaus-Nicopolis, and the line of advance was directed along the ancient west road from the plain to Jerusalem. The counter attack of Judas's force was delivered from the south (1 Macc. 3. 57), the Jewish army having by a long night march passed by the Greeks, advancing into the hills by a more northerly route. The surprise was again complete, and the pursuit of the defeated forces was followed up towards Gezer, Azotus, and Jamnia in the Philistine plain south-west of Emmaus.

The third attempt made by Lysias to penetrate to the watershed was from the south; and the narrow pass at Bethsura, defended by the Jews, was a position naturally of great strength, as the enemy, ascending from the Valley of Elah, were unable to obtain any footing on the higher ground. These three passes formed the defence of Jerusalem throughout the history of

Hasmoneans, and almost the only successful advance made on the city was that of Bacchides along the watershed from Samaria.

The history of the earlier period of the War of Independence is that of a succession of attempts to relieve the Greek garrison in the tower at Jerusalem. This was twice successfully accomplished, once by Lysias after the battle of Beth Zacharias, once by Bacchides after the defeat and death of Judas at Berzetho. In the first instance, the Jewish forces were engaged in besieging the citadel, and the Greek advance was so rapid that the southern pass of Bethsura (Beit Sûr) had been seized and the city surrounded before Judas had time to occupy this important position. He thus lost the military advantage of 'interior lines,' of which he usually made good use, and was forced to take up a less favourable position at Beth Zacharias (Beit Skâria). This second line of defence had, however, the advantage that it commanded a very narrow and dangerous pass where the road ran on the east, beneath the mountain, and above a precipitous ravine, while the line of retreat was easy for the defending force and the country immediately in rear open and well supplied with water. The panic caused by the first appearance of the elephants was probably the main cause of the Jewish defeat. The retreat to Jerusalem appears however to have been conducted in good order (1 Macc. 6).

The advance of Bacchides from Samaria was met by a flank attack from Bethhoron, where probably Judas was expecting to see the Greeks approaching by their former route. Eleasa, the place where Judas collected his forces (1 Macc. 9. 5), was probably the present Il'asa immediately north-west of Bethhoron, where the ground is more open than in the higher mountains. The advance of Bacchides was from Galilee (or Galgala); and the Masaloth (or 'caverns') of this episode are supposed by Josephus to be those near Arbela (12 Ant. 11. 1). Berea, the place towards which the Greeks marched, is no doubt the Biblical Beeroth (Bîreh); and Berzetho or Bethzetho (12 Ant. 10. 2 and 11. 1) is the modern village of Bîr ez-Zeit, on the hills immediately west of the narrow pass through which

the Greeks ascended towards Bethel. The 'Mount Azotus' of the same episode (1 Macc. 9. 15) is probably the mountain of Berzetho, for the advance of Bacchides being from Galilee it is impossible to suppose the neighbourhood of Ashdod to be here intended.

While the advance along the watershed thus proved successful, the attempt made by Nicanor to form a junction with an army again approaching by the Bethhoron Pass proved disastrous. The battle of Adasa was one of the most brilliant victories gained by Judas. The site is still connected with a tradition of some great slaughter; for the ruin of 'Adasah stands above the valley called Wâdy ed-Dumm, 'the Valley of Blood.' It is about a mile east of Gibeon (el-Jib), and on the main road from Jerusalem to Bethhoron just where it leaves the watershed. Judas thus posted himself directly on the line of Nicanor's return to the capital, and the surprise of the Greeks was followed by a pursuit which is said to have extended 'a day's journey' as far as Gazara or Gezer (1 Macc. 7. 45). This notice agrees well with the respective positions of the sites of Adasa and Gezer, the ruin of 'Adaseh being about seventeen miles east in a straight line from Tell Jezer.

The successful campaigns conducted by Judas in Idumæa and beyond Jordan are worthy of notice, as showing the contemporary condition of the country. The term 'Idumæa' receives in the Hasmonean annals a very considerable extension on the former Biblical Edom. Bethsura, only fifteen miles from Jerusalem, was the border fortress between Jews and Idumæans (1 Macc. 4. 61), and Gazara appears also to have been near the Idumæan plains (1 Macc. 4. 15). Two campaigns were made by Judas in this direction. In the first he attacked the nomadic tribes in Acrabattene (1 Macc. 5; 12 Ant. 8), by which we should probably understand the neighbourhood of the ascent of Acrabbim at the south end of the Dead Sea (Josh. 15. 3); in the second, Hebron was taken from the Idumæans (12 Ant. 8. 6), and at the same time Marissa (Mer'ash), which is apparently the 'Samaria' of 1 Macc. 5. 66, was recaptured from the Philistines in a raid which extended even to Ashdod.

The first campaign undertaken by Judas, east of Jordan, was directed against the Ammonites ; and Jazer the old border town of Reuben and Gad was then taken. The retaliation of the Ammonites on the Jews east of Jordan led to the second campaign. The district where the massacre took place was called the land of Tob or Tobie (1 Macc. 5. 13), and was, no doubt, the same 'good land' (such being the meaning of the Hebrew), which was the abode of Jephthah (Judg. 11. 3). The Mizpeh, where Jephthah's house stood (Judg. 11. 34), is presumably the same as Ramath Mizpeh on the north boundary of the land of Gad (Josh. 13. 26), and this indication agrees with the Talmudic explanation of Tob as being the country belonging to Hippos, a town on the south-east side of the Sea of Galilee (Tal. Jer. Shebiith 6. 2).

The name Tob, under its Arabic form Taiyibeh ('good'), is still in existence, at a site about 12 miles south-east of the Sea of Galilee, in the same latitude with Ramath Mizpeh. This identification of the land of Tob with the southern part of Bashan agrees perfectly with the description of the route taken by Judas after crossing the Jordan.

The object of his march was the relief of the Jews who had fled to the fortress of Dametha (or Dathema), possibly the present Dâmeh in the Lejja district, which must have been a place of considerable strength. After three days' march into the Nabathean desert, the city Bosora was reached and taken (1 Macc. 5. 28), and the distance thus traversed points to the famous town of Bozrah, about 60 miles from Jordan as identical with Bosora.

Thence Judas 'turned aside' to Maspha, which is no doubt the ancient Ramath Mizpeh, and which may thus be very well identified with the present Remtheh, on the Haj road, 25 miles west of Bozrah, and close to the probable north-east corner of the territory of Gad. Casphom (or Casphor), Maked (Maged, or Mokor), Alema, and Raphon (probably Raphana of Decapolis), taken at the same time, are not now known ; but the final advance led still farther north to Carnaim, probably the ancient capital of Og called Ashtoreth Carnaim in the

Bible—a city which appears to have been known in the fourth century as being four Roman miles from Edrei (edh-Dhr'a). In the Talmud (Tal. Bab. Succah 2 *a*) Ashtaroth is said to have been situated between two mountains, the shadow of which covered the town. The Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch renders Ashtaroth Carnaim by the names Sunamein and Aphnith, the first being the present Es-Sunamein, 28 miles south of Damascus, the second the later Phenutus or Phænos, 11 miles north-east of es-Sunamein.

The city Ephron taken in the return journey to the neighbourhood of Beth-shean (or as it was called at this period Scythopolis), is also unknown at present; but it will appear from the preceding paragraphs that enough is now ascertained to allow of our understanding the general direction and objects of Judas's campaign.

The expedition made at the same time by Simon the Hasmonean into Galilee was equally successful. The heathen were driven to the sea coast; but the Jews both in Galilee and beyond Jordan were attracted to the new centre forming round Jerusalem, and concentrated in the more secure hills of the south, deserting the unprotected regions in the north of the Holy Land. A crowd of emigrants followed Judas and Simon on their return to Jerusalem, and the influx of population into the little Judæan state, which gradually became consolidated, among the Jerusalem hills, no doubt added materially to its strength and national importance.

It is remarkable that in his account of this episode Josephus appears to apply the name of Galilee to the country east of Jordan as well as that west of the river. This is no doubt in accordance with the expression in Isaiah 'beyond Jordan in Galilee of the nations' (Isaiah 9. 1), which must apply to the country east of the river. In the Talmud the same extension of the term is found, the country north of Gadara being reckoned as part of Galilee, including the towns of Gamala (Khurbat el-Hosn), Cæsarea Philippi (Bânias), and Susitha, or Hippos (Tal. Bab. Megillah 6 *a*).

The death of Judas was followed by a period of depression

in the Hasmonean fortunes. Jonathan and Simon his brothers fled to the 'wilderness of Thekoe'—the ancient Jeshimon, which had sheltered David from Saul. Here they abode first by 'the pool Asphar,' a place not yet certainly identified (1 Macc. 9. 33). Possibly the mountain called Safra es-San'a, or Safra 'of the cistern,' may preserve the name in the southern part of the desert; but Josephus, on the other hand, says that Jonathan had pitched his camp 'among the lakes of Jordan' (13 Ant. 1. 3), and here by the 'marsh of Jordan' (1 Macc. 9. 42) Bacchides attacked him. The Bethbasi, which rather later formed a stronghold for the Hasmoneans (verse 62), is identified by Josephus with Bethagla (13 Ant. 1. 5), and is very probably the ancient Beth-Hoglah ('Ain Hajlah). Thence Jonathan ventured into the hills above Jericho, and established himself as a native chief in the town of Michmash.

It is instructive to note that the fortresses erected by Bacchides to protect Judæa against the Hasmoneans, and afterwards garrisoned by the latter against the Greeks, were the same as those fortified by Solomon and Rehoboam. The Shephelah district was not, however, included, and the state seems to have been reduced to the minimum of 300 square miles ruled by Ahaz. On the east Jericho formed the boundary; on the west Emmaus-Nicopolis; on the north Bethhoron, Bethel, Timnatha (Tibneh), and Pharathon—the position of which is doubtful. On the south-west Gezer formed the outpost against Philistia, and on the south Bethsura was the frontier fortress against Idumæa (1 Macc. 9. 50, 51).

These fortresses fell into the hands of Jonathan on the accession of Alexander Balas, with the exception of Bethsura, which was taken later by Simon (1 Macc. 11. 65); and of Gazara, which fell at a time not specified (14. 7).

The first important accession of territory extracted by Jonathan from the Seleucidæ consisted of the three governments, Apherema, Lydda, and Ramathem, ceded to Judæa from the Samaritan district (1 Macc. 11. 34); these towns are supposed to be the Biblical Lod, Ramathaim-Zophim, and Ephraim; and the Jewish border was thus advanced northwards and west-

wards, though it was still south the boundary line as recognized in the time of Christ between Judæa and Samaria.

As the power of the Seleucidæ diminished and that of the Hasmoneans increased the scenes of conflict are removed farther from the Jewish capital. Joppa was retaken, and a Greek army in Jamnia was defeated and pursued to Ashdod, which was for a second time burnt (1 Macc. 10. 76-83). Ascalon was taken peaceably. Ekron was also given to the Jews at this time by King Alexander, and the whole of the plain of Sharon was thus apparently recovered to the Hebrew kingdom.

In the succeeding reign of Demetrius II. the limits of the new state were still farther extended. Simon was appointed captain of Syria from the Ladder of Tyre (Râs en-Nakûra) to the borders of Egypt (1 Macc. 11. 59), a definition which would indicate the whole of western Palestine as bounded in the time of Christ. Gaza was conquered at this time (verse 61), and a successful battle was fought near the plain of Hazor (Merj Hadîreh), after which Jonathan pursued the Greeks to Cades, or Kadesh Naphtali (verses 67-73). In a subsequent campaign the scene of contest was removed still farther north to the district of Hamath (Amathis, 1 Macc. 12. 25), and the pursuit reached to the River Eleutherus (Nahr el-Kebîr), north of Tripoli, about 120 miles from Antioch, but double that distance from Jerusalem.

It was at the same period of national prosperity that the new fortress of Adida (the present Hadîtheh) was erected in the Shephelah (1 Macc. 12. 38), and its position near Lydda indicates that it may have been specially intended to bar the main road below Modin, which had been previously undefended on all occasions when the Bethhoron route had been used by the advancing Greeks.

The cupidity of Jonathan resulted in a temporary check of Jewish prosperity. Lured by the promise of receiving the town of Ptolemais or Accho, he fell into a trap prepared for him, and was taken prisoner by Trypho, who marched down the plain of Sharon and attempted to reach Jerusalem from the neighbourhood of Adoraim (Dûrah), near Hebron. An

easy ascent here led to the mountains, but the distance from Jerusalem was double that of the old route leading to Bethsura, and the extension of the country consolidated into the Judæan state since the time of Judas may be judged by the alteration in the line of attack. Trypho's attempt to surprise Jerusalem, by a cavalry force sent across the watershed and through the Jeshimon desert, having failed, he retreated to Cœle-Syria, and thence to Gilead, where he put an end to the unhappy Jonathan (13 Ant. 6. 6).

The succeeding reign of Simon, the last of the five sons of Mattathias, was a period during which the process of consolidation continued. The citadel in Jerusalem was starved out, the fortress of Gezer was garrisoned by the Jews, and Joppa became once more a Jewish seaport (1 Macc. 14. 5). These three places were, indeed, claimed by the King of Antioch (15. 28), but the attempt to enforce the demand was unsuccessful. In his extreme old age Simon was again obliged to undertake a war against the Greeks, and his sons conducted an army from Modin against Cedron (Katrah), near Jamnia (Yebnah), (1 Macc. 16). The brook at which this battle took place is no doubt the present Nahr Rûbîn, which even in summer is still full of water.

The history of the 1st Book of Maccabees closes with the murder of Simon at Docus (Dûk), above Jericho, and with the fortunate escape of Hyrcanus, then at Gazara. The territory thus recovered and made free by the Hasmoneans was substantially that recognised in the Herodian period as forming the limits of the Holy Land, though the south boundary of Samaria appears to have been again curtailed at the later period. The northern towns of Philistia were for a time in the hands of the Jews, and the tide of nomadic invasion was rolled back towards the Southern Desert. The reign of Hyrcanus presents probably the summit of Jewish prosperity, the extent of free country being larger than at any period since the time of Solomon. The integrity of the kingdom was, however, materially affected by the existence of a heretical and ungovernable central province; and the Jewish hatred of Samaritans, which caused them in the

time of Christ to avoid even the mention of Samaria—a district which formed no part of the 'Land' then considered Holy—had no doubt arisen before Hasmonean times, and had been fostered by the assistance given on various occasions to the Greeks by the Samaritans.

In an important passage of the *Antiquities* (13. 15. 4), Josephus gives a list of the outlying towns possessed by the Jews in the later Hasmonean period. Along the coast they had occupied Strato's Tower (afterwards Cæsarea), Apollonia (Arsûf), Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia (er-Rafâh), and Rhinocolura (near the mouth of Wâdy el-'Arish). On the borders of Idumæa they held Adora (Dûra), and Marissa (Mer'ash). On the north border of Samaria they possessed Mount Carmel, Mount Tabor, and Scythopolis (Beisân), with Gadara (Umm Keis) east of Jordan. In Gaulonitis (the present district of Jaulân) they had taken Seleucia (possibly Salkhâd), and Gabala (Gamala). In Moab they held Heshbon and Madeba, with the unknown towns Lemba, Oronas, and Geli-thon. Zara, in Moab, also possessed by the Jews, was no doubt the present Beit Zâra. Pella was probably the city of that name belonging to Decapolis farther north.

From this account it is also evident that Samaria formed no part of the Hasmonean kingdom; and it appears that the country east of Jordan was principally in the hands of the mixed Greek and native population, which we find inhabiting it during the Herodian period.

CHAPTER VI.

PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

CONCERNING the boundaries and divisions of Palestine in the Herodian period, we have many notices in the works of Josephus, and in the Rabbinical books. Several important points of topography are also elucidated by the writings of Pliny and Strabo, and we are thus able to obtain a more minute picture of the country at the time of Christ than is possible in any of the earlier periods, excepting perhaps the time of the conquest by Joshua.

In the Mishna (Hallah 4. 3, Shebiith 6. 1) three grand divisions of the Holy Land are noticed :—First, the country occupied by those who came back from Babylon, the limit of which is Chezib (*ez-Zib*). Secondly, the country from Chezib towards Amana (now *Alma Dagh*, near Antioch), and Euphrates possessed by those who came from Egypt. Thirdly, the country beyond Amana and Euphrates. The first division is called ‘the Land,’ ‘the Land of Israel,’ or ‘the Land of Canaan,’ by the Rabbinical writers; the second they termed Suria or Syria; the third appears to be the country occupied by the Jews who did not return with Zerubbabel, but who formed in later times a distinct community under the Prince of the Captivity, in Mesopotamia and Chaldæa.

The countries surrounding the Holy Land are called by Jewish writers Phœnicia, Arabia, and Philistia or Palestine; but the country conquered by the Hasmoneans in the Philistine plains is included within the Talmudic boundaries of ‘the Land of Israel,’ properly so called.

Palestine, south of Chezib, is again divided in the Mishna

into three provinces, and each of these provinces into three subdivisions (Shebiith 9. 2). The three provinces are Judæa; 'beyond Jordan;' and Galilee; the latter term including, as noticed in the preceding chapter, part of the country east of the Sea of Galilee, as well as the province generally understood by that name west of Jordan.

The three subdivisions of Galilee were Upper Galilee, Lower Galilee, and the Valley. The first was bounded by the village of Hananiah (Kefr 'Anân); the second included all that part of Galilee in which the sycomore would grow; the third was the neighbourhood of Tiberias.

The same distinction was observed in Judæa, the three subdivisions of that province being Mountain, Shephelah, and Valley. The Judæan mountains are called throughout the Talmudic writings, Har-ham-Melck, or 'King's Mountain.' The Shephelah is explained to be the 'lowlands' of Lydda, and of Daroma. The valley was the Jordan Valley from Jericho to Engedi. The Plain of Sharon, according to the Jerusalem Talmud, was included in the Shephelah, since the Mishna had stated that 'from Bethhoron (at the edge of the mountain) to the sea is one province.' But Rabbi Johanan gives in the same passage (Tal. Jer. Shebiith 9. 2) a division which accords better with the natural features of the country. 'From Bethhoron to Emmaus is the mountain country (*i.e.* those are its western limits); thence as far as Lod is Shephelah ("low land"); and from Lod to the sea is Valley.'

The same natural subdivision of the land was observed east of Jordan, and the Jerusalem Talmud commenting on the above-mentioned passage of the Mishna gives the following details:—

'The mountain country is Makaur (Machærus, now Mekaure), Gador (Gadara, now Umm Keis), and others; the Shephelah is represented by Heshbon, with all its towns in the plain (corresponding to the Mishor district of the earlier Biblical books), such as Dibon (Dhibân), Bamoth Baal, Beth Baal-Meon (M'ain), and others; the Valley is Beth Haran (Harân), Beth Nimrah (Nimrîn), and others'—that is to say, it corresponded with the Jordan Valley.

It is to be observed that throughout this description complete silence is preserved with regard to Samaria, which formed no part of the Land of Israel at this period, and which is indeed scarcely mentioned in the Talmud.

We may now proceed to consider more in detail the boundaries of the various provinces thus indicated as composing the Holy Land. A very detailed account of these boundaries is to be found in the Talmud of Jerusalem, dating about 300 A.D. It is apparently derived from the *Tosiphta*, a Commentary of antiquity almost equal to the *Mishna*, and dating between the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian Era. The same list is also found (with variations) in the *Midrash* called *Siphri*—a Commentary on the Books of Numbers and Deuteronomy—and it is thence copied in the *Yalkut*, a summary of older commentaries of the 13th century. A comparison of these various texts with existing sites leads to the conclusion, that the readings in the older works—the *Tosiphta* and the *Siphri*—are the most correct, and that the later lists are as a rule only to be received when they are in accordance with the former.

The description commences with the ‘environs of Ascalon,’ the town itself not belonging to the Land. In another passage of the Rabbinical writings (*Tosiphta*, *Oholoth* 18), the exact border line near Ascalon, is defined as marked by *Yagur* (evidently the modern *el-Jûrah*, just outside the old city, with *Gub* and *Tarin* (‘the gates’), while on the south was ‘the great tomb.’

Next to Ascalon the wall of *Cæsarea* is noticed, the city itself being also excluded from the Land. The third place mentioned is *Dor* (*Tanturâ*); the fourth is the ‘wall of *Accho*,’ a city also belonging to the outside world (*Aboda Zara* 3. 5).

As a guide to the subsequent line of the border, we must remember that *Achzib* is spoken of as a frontier town in the *Mishna* already quoted, and in other passages (*Tal. Bab. Gittin* 76). Following, therefore, the order of the two oldest texts (*Tosiphta* and *Siphri*), we find the next place to be ‘the waters of *G’atin*’; and we can have no hesitation in identifying these with the springs of the great valley called *Nahr Metshûkh*, on

the side of which is the present ruin of J'athûn. Kabartha, which follows next is probably the present Kâbry, a village immediately north of the same valley; and Achzib is thus left just outside the Holy Land, which agrees with the opinion of the Rabbis, who did not admit it to be on the inside of the border (Hallah 4. 8). Beth Zanita, the next place on the line, is the present Zucinita, near the head of the same valley, about 8 miles from the sea coast. The border is thus brought to the neighbourhood of M'alia, which is very probably the Melloth which formed the west boundary of Galilee, according to Josephus.

Katzra of Gelil follows next in order according to three out of the four texts under consideration, and is probably to be recognised in the modern Jelil, about two miles north-west of M'alia. The name of the tenth point mentioned appears in four variations, the Tosiphta reading Kub'aia of Rathin, and the Siphri reading Kaniia of Aiya. The latter is perhaps the more correct, and refers apparently to the town Kanah of Asher, and to the neighbouring ruin of 'Aiya, about two miles south-east of it. In this case the border ran along the crests of the hills of Upper Galilee for 14 miles northwards, leaving a strip of Shephelah and plain, about 6 miles broad, belonging to Phœnicia. The towns of Berii, Terii, Tiphnis, and Siphneta follow, and the first three seem plainly recognisable in Beriâs, Tîreh, and Tibnîn, showing that the border now followed the spur of mountain which runs east, from Kanah, to Tibnîn near the watershed.

From this point, the difficulty of tracing the line increases, by reason of the variations in the four texts; and out of the 14 names west of Jordan which next occur, only five can be fixed with any degree of certitude. These are Aulshitha (probably 'Atshith), Aulem ('Almôn), Migdol Kherub (el-Khurbah), 'the chasm of 'Aiyûn' (no doubt the deep valley of the Merj 'Ayûn); and, lastly, Tornegola (perhaps a clerical error for Tor-Talga 'snowy mountain,' which is the Rabbinical name of Hermon in the Book Siphri and in the Targums), the site of Tornegola being described as situated above Kisrin or Cæsarea.

Philippi. The line thus appears to have run north as far as the Leontes, and thence eastwards to the sources of Jordan at Bânias.

East of the Jordan, the description of the boundary is more clearly explicable.

The first point mentioned beyond Kisrin is Beth Sucath, which is probably the present Shuka, the earlier Saccæa, under the north-west slopes of Jebel ed-Drûz ('the hill of Bashan'). This is followed by Kanath, evidently the Biblical Kenath, now Kanawât about 11 miles south of Shuka. It is thus made clear that the boundary corresponds with that of the kingdom of Og and of the possessions of Manasseh beyond Jordan.

'Tarakina in the neighbourhood of Bozrah,' is the next name on the border, the first word being no doubt the Rabbinical form of the district name Trachonitis, while Bozrah is the famous city of that name south of Kenath. Jegar Sahadutha, the next point, preserves the name of Jacob's monument (Gen. 31. 47), also called Galeed and Mizpah. The site is perhaps to be identified with Ramath-Mizpeh of Gad, on the borders of Gilead, which has been noticed in preceding chapters as being probably the present Remtheh, 25 miles west of Bozrah.

'The fortress of Zerka,' which follows next, is no doubt Kal'at ez-Zerka, north-east of Rabbath Ammon, and at the head of one of the main branches of the Yibkah or Jabbok (Wâdy ez-Zerka), which follows immediately in the list. Heshbon and the brook Zered come next in their proper order, and we thus reach Rekem Giah, or 'Rekem of the ravine,' evidently the present Petra, called Rekem by Josephus. The two last names on the list do not seem to follow in their proper order, for we no doubt should read first 'the high road to the wilderness,' and afterwards 'the gardens of Ascalon'—the original starting point.

The border which has been thus followed includes all the Holy Land properly so called and also embraces Samaria. The eastern boundary agrees with that originally laid down by Moses for the trans-Jordanic tribes, and the full limits of the territory divided by Joshua are only curtailed on the south

(where a portion of Philistia is excluded) and on the north-west where the whole of Phœnicia, in fact almost all the territory of Asher, is left outside the boundary. This is in accordance with the descriptions of Josephus and of the Jerusalem Talmud which speak of Phœnicia as a country bordering on Galilee (3 Wars 3. 1).

The fact that the Galilean border must be drawn along the western crests of the hills is also evidenced by the names of certain cities which were just beyond the limits of the Holy Land and in the territory of Tyre (as recorded in the Tosiphta, and in the Jerusalem Talmud, Demai 2. 1). Among these, several are easily recoverable, such as Bitzath (Bassa'), and Hanuta (Hanûta) immediately north of the boundary stream (Nahr el-Mefshûkh); Amun, probably the Biblical Hammon (Hama) rather farther north; Metzubeth (M'asûb) north-east of ez-Zîb; and Beth Bedia (Bediâs) north-east of Tyre.

The extreme limits of the country embracing about 10,000 square miles having thus been defined, we may proceed to consider the limits of the various provinces which were included in it.

Judæa was of course the first in the estimation of the Rabbis, and its limits were considerably larger than those of the ancient kingdom of the sovereigns of Judah. The line of the north border adjoining Samaria is nowhere described in detail, but there is sufficient information available, in various scattered passages, to enable us to lay down the boundary with great exactitude.

Josephus informs us that the village of Anuath 'belonging to' (or, according to Whiston's translation, identical with) Borceos, was the border town between Judæa and Samaria (3 Wars 3. 5), and that the Acrabbene Toparchy was part of Judæa (sect. 4). In another passage he mentions the town of Corea as standing close to the same boundary on the Judæan side (1 Wars 6. 5).

We learn from the Onomasticon that Anuath was fifteen Roman miles south of Neapolis or Shechem, and at this distance, east of the main watershed road, is a ruin and spring called

Aina, while on the road itself is the site of an ancient village bearing the name of Berkit, evidently the Borceos of Josephus. Corea is the present Keriyût about two miles south-east of the last, and the capital of the Acrabbene Toparchy was the present 'Akraheh about seven miles north-east of Corea.

The line thus traced leaves the main watershed at the southern extremity of the Mukhnah Plain, and follows the course of one of the longest valleys in Palestine, which has its head at 'Akraheh, and runs down to the Plain of Sharon, debouching from the hills close to the important ruin of Râs el-'Ain—the site of the ancient Antipatris. The valley becomes extremely deep and rugged after leaving the immediate neighbourhood of the watershed, and is one of the most formidable natural barriers in this part of the Holy Land.

From the Talmud we obtain other details which confirm the view that the great valley thus indicated—now called Wâdy Deir Ballût from the ruined village of Deir Ballût on its north bank—is the old south boundary of Samaria. In the first place, Antipatris was a border town of Judea (Tal. Bab. Gittin 76 *a*); it is noticed as on the west boundary of that province (Tal. Bab. Sanhedrin 94 *b*) in opposition to Geba (Gibeah of Benjamin), and also as being on the south boundary of Samaria.

In addition to this, we find mention made in the Mishna of certain towns the wine of which was allowable for Jewish use, and which were consequently not within Samaria (Menakhoth 9. 7). Among these were Beth Rima (the present Beit Rîma), Beth Laban (Lubben), and Keruthim (probably Corea), all of which places lay immediately south of the boundary valley above noticed. Shiloh, moreover, was thus included in Judæa, as well as Patris (Budrus), at the entrance of the King's Mountain (Tosiphta, Demai 1).

The southern boundary of Judæa has been already noticed. It is drawn in the Tosiphta from Petra to Ascalon, through the Desert, and thus included a great part of Idumæa, which extension of territory is easily explained by the fact that the Idumæans had been conquered by John Hyrcanus, and forced nominally to embrace Judaism (13 Ant. 9. 1).

Within the limits thus determined Judæa was subdivided into eleven Toparchies, of which Jerusalem was the capital. The names of the eleven chief cities are given both by Josephus and by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 5. 14), viz. 1, Acrabatta ('Akrabeh), 2, Thamna (Tibneh), 3, Gophna (Jufna), 4, Lydda (Ludd), 5, Joppa (Yâfa), including the district of Jamnia (Yebna), 6, Emmaus-Nicopolis ('Amwâs), 7, Jericho (Rîha), 8, Herodium (Jebel el-Fureidis), 9, Engedi ('Ain Jidy), 10, Idumæa, and 11, Bethleptepha.

In addition to this official division of Judæa, certain natural districts were also distinguished; their names as well as those of the toparchies remained in use as late as the time of St. Jérôme, and they are frequently mentioned by the Rabbinical writers.

These districts were called Daroma, Sarona, Geraritica, Shephelah, and Gebalene. The first word Daroma, meaning 'dry,' is the equivalent of the old Hebrew Negeb, and in the Targum of Onkelos is substituted for it (*Deut.* 34. 3). The Negeb district was known as Daroma in the fourth century A.D., but the Talmud distinguishes an upper and lower province of Daroma (*Tosiphta*, *Sanhedrin* 2, and *Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds* on the same treatise). Upper Daroma extended even to Lydda, and the town of Caphar Dhikrin was included in it (*Midrash*, *Ekha* 2. 2), as was also apparently the famous city of Jamnia. While therefore Lower Daroma represented the Negeb, Upper Daroma was that part of the Maritime Plain lying between Lydda and the present village of Dhikrîn. This district is principally sandy, and that part of it which lies between Ekron and Jamnia still retains the name Deirân or 'dry,' equivalent to the ancient title Daroma.

The district of Geraritica included the southern parts of Philistia beyond the limits of the Holy Land, and took its name from Gerar, south of Gaza. In the Talmud, under the form Gerariku, it is made to extend to the River of Egypt (*Wâdy el-'Arish*), and is considered as a Gentile country (*Tal. Jer. Shebiith* 6. 1); Gaza alone being inhabited by Jews. The Targum of Jonathan (*Gen.* 20. 1) also renders Gerar by the same term Gerariku. |

Sarona or Sharon was the third division of the plain country, extending north of Daroma. The word itself means 'plain,' and is applied in the Bible to the plateau west of the Sea of Galilee, and to the land of Gad east of Jordan (1 Chron. 5. 16), as well as to the Maritime Plain between Lydda and Carmel. The latter is noticed in the New Testament (Acts 9. 35), as well as in the Prophets (Isaiah 33. 9). In the Talmud it is mentioned as a pastoral district.

The proper restriction of the term Shephelah or 'lowland' to the low hills between the plain and the watershed-mountains has been already noticed. The name still exists under the form Sifeh, applying as an adjective (meaning 'low') to many places in the neighbourhood of Adullam and Maresbah.

The district of Gebalene is stated by Eusebius (Onomasticon) to have been part of Idumæa, and the Jerusalem Targum and Samaritan Version render Mount Seir (which was part of Edom or Idumæa) by Gebala ('mountains'). Thus the five districts above noticed lay beyond the bounds of the eleven toparchies, and included, with the exception of Daroma and Shephelah, country beyond the bounds of the Land of Israel.

Samaria, or the Land of the Cuthim (Tal. Jer. Shekalim 1. 5), occupying the centre of Palestine, was, according to the Talmud, no part of the Holy Land. It is briefly noticed as a district between Caphar Utnai, and Antipatris (Tal. Bab. Gittin 76 a); but from Josephus we obtain further indications of its limits. The two questions most important to settle are, first, whether it is to be considered as having reached to the Mediterranean; and, secondly, whether it extended to Jordan.

As regards the first question, Josephus claims that all the maritime towns as far as Ptolemais (Accho) belonged to Judæa (3 Wars 3. 5), and in a political sense they no doubt did. The seaside towns, together with the palm and balsam groves of Jericho, were given by Mark Antony to Cleopatra (15 Ant. 4. 1), but on her death Jericho, Samaria, Gaza, Anthedon (south of the last), Joppa, and Cæsarea, were handed over to Herod the Great, with Hippos and Gadara east of the Jordan. It is not, however, with the temporary political distribution of cities

and provinces that we are now concerned, but with the national divisions of the country recognized by the Sanhedrin at Jerusalem; and it seems clear from various passages in the Talmud that the Plain of Sharon was reckoned as part of the country of the Cuthim. We have already seen that Cæsarea (a city containing a Temple dedicated by Herod to Augustus) was excluded from the Holy Land, like Ascalon, which contained the Temple and sacred Lake of Derceto. In the New Testament also Cæsarea is mentioned as not being in Judæa (Acts 12. 19; 21. 10), and in the Talmud the maritime cities in general are excluded from the list of those in which certain religious ceremonies peculiar to Judæa were to be performed. The rule of Demai ('pagan people') for the Samaritans, we read (Tal. Jer. Demai 2. 2) 'is obligatory from Fondeka (Funduk west of Shechem) to Caphar Saba.' The latter place is the modern village of Kefr Saba in the Plain of Sharon north of Antipatris, and the village gave its name to a district surrounding it (16 Ant. 5. 2). Another indication is also afforded in the north by the statement that the heathen inhabited Kastrā (Midrash, Ekha 1. 17), a place near Haïpha, evidently the later Kalamon or Castra Samaritorum, the present Kefr es-Samîr, at the foot of Carmel in the Maritime Plain.

From Josephus (3 Wars 3. 1) we learn that Carmel itself belonged to the Tyrians (by whom he may mean the Samaritans whom he calls Sidonians), and we are justified at least in regarding the Sharon Plain as inhabited by a mixed race, and as forming, strictly speaking, no part of Judæa.

The question whether Samaria extended to Jordan is more difficult because less is recorded on the subject. The mountain of Sartaba (Kurn Sartaba), where the Jewish beacon was lighted, must have been within Judæa (Rosh Hashshanah 2. 3), and Samaria cannot, therefore, have extended farther south than the Great Wâdy Fâr'ah, beneath that mountain. We hear, however, that the oil of Regueb (Rûjîb, east of Jordan, a little north of Wâdy Fâr'ah) was rendered impure on its journey to Jerusalem, by passing through part of the Land of the Cuthim (Tal. Jer. Hagigah 3. 4). A glance at the map will

show that the direct road from Regueb would have crossed the south-east corner of Samaria if the land of the Cuthim extended along the Fâr'ah to Jordan, but not otherwise. Beth-shean, again, in the Jordan Valley, was at one time part of Samaria, and was built and inhabited by heathens; and a ruin, called Es-Sâmriyeh, 'the Samaritan ruin,' still exists immediately south of Beisân. Wâdy Fâr'ah appears therefore to have formed the boundary between Judæa and Samaria in the Jordan Valley.

The above notes illustrate incidentally the New Testament history. In order to reach Judæa without passing through heathen territory, it was necessary to cross Jordan above Beth-shean, and to pass along the valley east of the river as far as the north end of the plains of Jericho—which was the route followed by Christ (Mark 10. 1); and on the other side of the country we find Peter hesitating to go to the Gentiles of Cæsarea, and are clearly told that on leaving the mountains to enter the plain of Sharon, Judæa also was left behind.

The north boundary of Samaria was the south boundary of Galilee. Although no special description of the border exists, we have in this case also sufficient incidental information to enable us to draw the line.

On the east it started from Beth-shean; and the village of Ginæa (Jenîn) was on the Samaritan border (3 Wars 3. 4), showing that the Galilean territory extended to the south extremity of the Great Plain of Esdraelon. Caphar Utnai, the next point mentioned (Gittin 7. 7), appears to be the modern Kefr Adân, north-west of Jenîn, and this indicates that the border ran at the foot of the hills west of the Great Plain. Carmel did not belong to Galilee in the time of Josephus; but the towns of Haipha and Shikmonah (Sycaminon) apparently did, and lay at the foot of the mountain towards the north.

The border thus traced corresponds with that which may be deduced from the Old Testament as separating the territory of Manasseh from that of Issachar and Zebulon. The names of the two tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, take the place in the earlier Biblical books (Psalms 78 a, 2 Chron. 30. 10) of

Samaria, as noticed in the late Jewish times (Amos 6.1, Ecclesiasticus 50. 26). It is thus natural that the boundaries of Samaria should coincide with the territory of the sons of Joseph, which was apparently the case on the north, and practically so on the south, as the increase in the territory of Judea on that side was obtained (Chap. V., p. 297) by the appropriation of three Samaritan Toparchies (Lydda, Ramathem, and Ephron), which lay within Mount Ephraim. The result of the investigation of the north border of Manasseh (Chap. III.) will be found to agree with the present account of the north border of Samaria, and the two separate results thus serve to confirm one another.

The divisions of the northern province of Galilee are easily understood, because the natural divisions of the country are well marked. We have already seen how simply the Mishna states the matter by a reference to the growth of the sycamore, which flourishes only in the plains and low lands, and does not grow in the high mountains. The name Galilee, as referring to a special province of Palestine, is as old as the days of Joshua (Josh. 21. 32), and was in use in the time of Solomon (1 Kings 9. 11), including both Upper and Lower Galilee, and that district close to the borders of Zebulun and Asher which was given to Hiram, king of Tyre, and called by him Cabul. In this cession of the lower hills, north of Accho by Solomon, we no doubt find the origin of the later contraction of the Galilean border, which has been already noted.

Galilee is again mentioned at the time of the Assyrian conquest of Samaria (2 Kings 15. 29), and the term was in use as referring to the north of Palestine during the Hasmonean period (1 Macc. 5. 17).

The word 'Galilee' comes from a Hebrew root, meaning 'to roll.' In the plural it is used of a place or district near Jericho (Josh. 18. 17), and it is also employed to designate the Philistine plains. It is generally rendered 'circuit,' but as it applies in each case to rolling country may, perhaps, be thought to have the more distinct meaning of 'downs.'

The term Galilee of the Goim ('Gentiles' or 'nations,' Isaiah 9. 1, 1 Macc. 5. 15, Matt. 4. 15) should be understood probably

as applying to the outlying districts—on the one hand that part given to the Tyrians, and on the other that lying east of Jordan. In two of the passages it is spoken of as ‘beyond Jordan,’ and we have already seen that cities east of the Sea of Galilee are included by Rabbinical writers in Galilee. There is no good foundation for the supposition that the population of Galilee in general was mixed. Had it been so the district would have been included under the ban which attached to the centre of the country where heathen were settled, and to such cities as Ascalon, Cæsarea, Accho, and Beth-shean, the latter apparently built by the Scythians during their invasion of Palestine, and hence named Scythopolis (Herodotus 1. 205). But Galilee was not considered as heathen territory; and although the Talmudic scholars speak with contempt of the Galileans, and mention the confusion of the letters, Cheth, Ain, He, and Aleph, which was one of the vulgarisms of their dialect (Tal. Bab. Erubin 53. 6; compare Mark 14. 70), they do not say anything which would lead to the supposition that the Galileans were less orthodox than the inhabitants of Judæa; and indeed in the observance of the Sabbath their rules were stricter.

On the other hand, many cities on the north-west border were (as has been shown) excluded from Galilee proper, and the inhabitants of certain towns east of the Sea of Galilee (such as Gerasa, Gadara, and Hippos), were undoubtedly of Greek origin. This may serve, perhaps, to explain the term ‘Galilee of the Gentiles’ as distinguishing the outskirts of the country from the Jewish Galilee, which lay within the borders of the Holy Land.

The town of Caphar Hananiah, which divided Lower from Upper Galilee, was no doubt identical with the present Kefr ‘Anân, at the foot of the high range of Jebel Jermûk. The other towns mentioned by Josephus (3 Wars 3. 1), are not all easily recognizable.

Lower Galilee extended east and west from Tiberias to the town of Zabulon (or City of Men), which may possibly be the present Sh‘ab, for Josephus apparently excludes the plain of Ptolemais (‘Akka) from Galilee (2 Wars 18. 9). He also re-

the term on the south, so as not to include the Great Plain, though we know from his own statements in the same chapter that it formed no part of Samaria. Xaloth, the south boundary of Lower Galilee proper, was no doubt the Hebrew Chesulloth (the modern Iksâl), at the foot of the Nazareth hills. Bersabe, the northern limit, is as yet unknown.

Upper Galilee extended from Melloth—probably M'alia—to Thella, a village near Jordan, possibly represented by one of the mounds called *Tell* in the Jordan Valley. The northern limit was the village of Baca (or Batatha, according to another MS), on the Tyrian frontier, a town also unknown. The elucidation of the boundaries from the Talmudic accounts renders, however, these indications of Josephus less important.

The province of Peræa remains to be noticed, with its various subdistricts and confederate towns. The name, signifying 'beyond,' is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew *Aber*, 'over.' In the Talmud the province is always called *Aber-ha-Yerden*, 'beyond Jordan,' the same term employed in the Bible (Josh. 1. 14, 15).

The east border of Peræa has already been indicated in describing the east boundary of the Holy Land. Josephus makes its width to extend from Jordan to the district of Philadelphia (Rabbath Ammon), and to Gerasa (Jerâsh), beyond which was Arabia. On the south it included Machærus (Mekaur), and on the north it extended to Pella.

The position of Pella thus becomes a matter of some interest. Josephus speaks of a Pella lying apparently north-west of Damascus (14 Ant. 3. 2); and we might at first suppose that it was to this place that he refers in the passage now under consideration (3 Wars 3. 5), but immediately after he alludes to the various districts of Bashan as distinct from Peræa. Pella, a city of the region of Decapolis, is frequently noticed by Josephus with other cities east and south-east of the Sea of Galilee, such as Gerasa (Jerâsh), Gamala (el-Hosn), Golan, &c. It was inhabited by foreigners (13 Ant. 15. 4), and had, according to Pliny, an abundant supply of water. There seems no reason to doubt that it is the Phail of the Talmud mentioned

with Neve (Nawa), Derei (Edhr'a), and Bozrah (Busrah) (Jer. Shebith 6. 1), and as having hot springs (Hammatha). Pella is, however, chiefly famous as the refuge of the early Christian Church, flying from Jerusalem before the great siege, and its site seems to have been well known in the fourth century. Eusebius notices that Arbela (Irbid, south of the Hieromax river) was in the district of Pella. All these indications seem to point to the site of Fâhil in the Jordan Valley, opposite Beisân, a ruin standing on a *Tubakah*, or 'terrace' of the same name. Ancient rock-tombs show it to be an old site, and there is a stream near it which is probably thermal, like all the other springs in the district.

Peræa, being bounded by the town of Pella and contiguous to Bashan, was thus apparently conterminous on the north with Batanea, and on the south with the Mishor of Reuben. We have, however, to consider several other districts east of Jordan, namely, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Bethania, Ituræa, Decapolis, and Abilene.

The first three terms are easily explained. Golan, or Gaulonitis, was the present Jaulân district, extending immediately east of Jordan and of the Sea of Galilee. Trachonitis was a Greek name meaning 'rugged,' and we have already seen that Bozrah was in the neighbourhood of this district. It probably also included the Lejja country, with its rugged hills and ravines of basalt. Auranitis is the Biblical Hauran (Ezek. 47. 16-18), which preserves its name to the present day, applying to the flat country north-west of Bozrah. The root from which the word is derived means 'hollow,' and the district receives in Arabic a second title—*en-Nukrah*—which also means 'hollow.'

The position of Basanitis, or Bethania, is less easily defined; but according to the most probable position it was on the south-west of the last-mentioned district. Bethania, or Batanea, is the Aramaic form of the Hebrew Bashan, meaning 'soft level ground,' and Josephus uses the word as equivalent to the older form (4 Ant. 7. 4). The Targum of Jonathan (Deut. 33. 22, Psalm 68. 22) in the same way substitutes the later form

Bothenin for Bashan, and the Jerusalem Targum (Deut. 32. 14) reads Batheniya. The Samaritan Pentateuch also reads Batanin for Bashan throughout.

In other passages, however, Josephus makes Batanea a separate province bordering on Trachonitis (17 Ant. 2. 1; 1 Wars 20. 4), and in the fourth century it is mentioned as including Golan and Ashtaroth. It seems, therefore, pretty clear that the district intended is the present district of el-Battein, south-east of the Sea of Galilee; and as we have already determined Peræa as bounded by Pella, it appears that Batanea probably extended (as held by the learned Reland)¹ to the Jordan, south of the Sea of Galilee.

Ituræa, the fifth province of this district, which Pliny places north of Bashan, appears evidently to be the present district of Jedûr, extending from Hermon towards the Lejja. Thus, with exception of the foreign name Trachonitis, all the districts of Bashan still retain their Aramaic titles unchanged.

Decapolis, or the district of 'ten cities,' was partly included in Bashan. Pliny, in enumerating them by name,² says that different towns are given by different authorities. The following are the cities variously stated to have been included in what appears to have been a confederation of towns inhabited by Greek or heathen settlers:--

	Greek	Hebrew	Arabic
1	Scythopolis (the capital)	Beth-shean .	Beisân
2	— . . .	Gadara . .	Umm Keis
3	— . . .	Gerasa . .	Jerûsh
4	— . . .	Canatha . .	Kanawât
5	— . . .	Abila . .	Abîl
6	— . . .	Raphana . .	—
7	Hippos . . .	Susitha . .	—
8	Dion . . .	—	—
9	Pella . . .	Phahil . .	Fâhil
10	Capitolias . . .	—	—
11	Philadelphia . . .	Rabbath Ammon	Rabbah
12	—	Damascus . .	esh-Shâm

It will be remarked that the Sēmitic names have survived, while the Greek ones have been lost—an invariable rule in Palestine. Decapolis appears in the Gospels as a district distinct from Peræa, but situated east of Jordan (Matt. 4. 25 ; Mark 5. 20, 7. 31).

The district of Abilene, finally, remains to be noticed. In the New Testament (Luke 3. 1) Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene, is mentioned, and the name appears to have been a family one among the princes of that province. It is not the Abila of Decapolis which is here intended, for that town lay in Batanea, but another city farther north. A Lysanias, who was ruler of the tetrarchy of Abila (20 Ant. 7. 1 ; 2 Wars 11. 5), was the son of Ptolemy, son of Menneus, who died 36 years before Herod the Great. Ptolemy was ruler of Chalcis under Lebanon (14 Ant. 7. 4), and of the country near Damascus (13 Ant. 16. 3). This district was afterwards called the 'House of Lysanias,' and was seized by a robber named Zenodorus, who called his new kingdom (which included also part of Trachonitis) the House of Zenodorus (15 Ant. 10. 3 ; 1 Wars 20. 4). We can, therefore, have no hesitation in identifying the Abila of Lysanias with the town of that name which existed in the Anti-Lebanon, 11 miles east of Chalcis. The remains of its ancient tombs, aqueducts, and roads still exist : the traditional tomb of Abel is shown close by, and a Latin inscription cut on the live rock relates that one of the roads was made in the time of Aurelius and Lucius Verus (middle of the second century) by the inhabitants of Abila. The district of Abilene was given to Herod the Great and afterwards to Agrippa (15 Ant. 10. 3 ; 20 Ant. 7. 1).

The provinces of the Holy Land thus described in detail were distinguished by different capabilities for cultivation, and their characteristic productions may be noticed briefly. Judæa was famous for its corn, especially the neighbourhood of Michmash, where there are still open corn vales. Galilee produced abundant olives, and the soil of its plains was remarkable for fertility. Peræa was the most rugged and unproductive ; but

the palm was found in its valleys, and the ravines were full of perennial springs.

The population of Galilee was denser than that of the other districts (3 Wars 3. 2); and at the present day the number of inhabited villages is greater in Upper Galilee than in any other part of Palestine. The fertility of Samaria is not noticed by Jewish writers; but no one who has visited the country west of Shechem and the hills of Manasseh can doubt that in corn, wine, and oil Samaria must have vied with Galilee and probably surpassed Judæa.

On the death of Herod the Great, his dominions, which had gradually extended, were divided among his sons (17 Ant 11. 4). Archelaus became governor of Judæa, Idumæa, and Samaria; Philip ruled Galilee and Peræa; and Antipas had Auranitis and part of the 'House of Zenodorus,' or Abilene. Gerasa, Gadara, and Hippos, as Greek cities, were made part of Syria; Jamnia, Ashdod, and Ascalon, with Phasaelis in the Jordan Valley (Fusâil), were given to Salome.

This account is in accordance with that in the New Testament (Luke 3. 1), and explains why Joseph retired to Galilee through fear of Archelaus (Matt. 2. 22). At a later period the divisions were rearranged, and Agrippa obtained the Tetrarchy of Philip, with Trachonitis and Bathania, and part of Abilene, not including Chalcis.

The Herodian period was a great building epoch. Important works were erected at Jerusalem, Cæsarea, Samaria, Antipatris, Ascalon, Phasaelis, Archelais (Kerâwa), Jericho, Masada (Sebbeh), Herodium (Jebel Fureidîs), and in other places. These however have almost entirely disappeared at the present day. It now only remains to give some account of the places specially connected with the journeys and ministry of Christ which, as being the most interesting among the cities of Palestine to the student of this period of Jewish history, require rather a more detailed notice than can be given in the Biblical Gazetteer.

Nazareth, the early home of Christ, is principally remarkable for its secluded situation. It stands on the brow of a

hill, 1,800 feet above the sea, with a hollow plateau on the east and a rugged gorge to the south. On the north the ascent from the plains of Sepphoris is also difficult, and on the west the hills fall rapidly to a lower level. The town, thus situated in a mountain with open plains on all sides, was not on any of the great highways of the country, and is not mentioned in the Old Testament or by Josephus. The main roads from Galilee to Jerusalem led east and west of the block of hills: one over the plateau extending above the shores of the Sea of Galilee; the other from Ptolemais, running to Sepphoris, and thence by Simonias to Legio on the west side of the Plain of Esdraelon.

The expression (Matt. 4. 13) 'in the borders of Zabulon and Neplithalim,' was supposed by the early Fathers of the Church to mean that Capernaum stood on the border between these tribes. It has been shown, however, that the plateau west of the Sea of Galilee belonged to Naphtali. Nazareth, on the other hand, was in Zebulon, and the full force of the passage is thus obtained: 'And *leaving Nazareth*, He came and dwelt in Capernaum.' The prophecy being fulfilled by the connection of both towns with the history of Christ—Nazareth, in one tribe and Capernaum in the other.

The site of the baptism of Christ, is not mentioned in the Gospels. It is generally, however, assumed that Bethabara, which was the place where John was baptizing about that time, and which was soon after visited by Christ, is the place where the events preceding the Temptation must have occurred. The first retreat of John the Baptist was in the Judæan desert (Matt. 3. 1), but he afterwards visited 'all the country about Jordan' (Luke 3. 3), and Bethabara was beyond Jordan in Peræa. The name signifies house of the 'crossing over,' and suggests the vicinity of one of the Jordan fords. Bethabara was within a day's journey of Cana in Galilee (John 2. 1), and cannot therefore have been more than about 20 miles from that village. This fact renders it impossible to accept the traditional site near Jericho, and it is more natural to look for Bethabara in Galilee where Christ was brought up. The name has been recovered in that of 'Abârah, one of the main Jordan

fords, a little north of Beisân; and the distance from the most probable site of Cana is 22 miles.

In the Sinaitic Manuscript of John 1. 28, the name Bethania stands instead of Bethabara; the Vatican and Alexandrine texts have the same reading. Origen¹ says that in his time (186–253 A.D.) *most* of the ancient manuscripts read Bethania, nevertheless he himself adopts the present form Bethabara. St. Chrysostom (347–407 A.D.) accepts the latter, though referring to the older reading; while St. Jerome (340–420) reads Bethabara only. We can scarcely suppose the present reading to be a late invention; but it is not difficult to reconcile the two, if the site of the 'Abârah ford be accepted, for Bethania beyond Jordan is evidently the province of Batanea, already described as extending from Pella to the Sea of Galilee; and as the ford now discovered is north of Pella, it leads into Batanea, where the village of Bethabara would have stood.

Another place where John baptized requires a brief notice, namely, Ænon, near Salim, where there was much water (or rather 'many waters,' John 3. 23). The word 'Ænon, is evidently a proper name, being an Aramaic plural of the word En ('spring') introduced in a Greek book. It seems to apply to a district from the use of 'in' instead of 'at,' and it is to be sought either in the wilderness of Judæa or in the Jordan Valley. There is only one place where all these indications concur and where abundant water is found near an Ænon and a Salim. This is Wâdy Fâr'ah, running from Mount Ebal to Jordan—an open vale, full of springs. Sâlim, three miles south of the valley, would represent the Salim of the fourth Gospel, and the name of the district of Ænon lingers at the village of 'Ainûn four miles north of the waters of the Fâr'ah. The valley itself probably formed, as has been already noted, the boundary between Samaria and Judæa.

With regard to Sychar near Jacob's Well (John 4. 5), the position of the village of 'Askar—the Samaritan name of which is Ischar, leaves no reasonable doubt that it is the place mentioned in the Gospel. The village of Cana in Galilee, visited

¹ *In Evan Johannis*, tom. 8.

by Christ after his return to Bethabara, has been placed at two sites, the first north of the Buttauf plain (Kânah), the second (Kefr Kenna) south of the same plain. The first name accurately represents Cana, the second does not; but the position of Kefr Kenna appears to be the most suitable, both because it is nearer Bethabara, and because it lies on the road from Nazareth to Tiberias (compare Luke 7. 1, with John 4. 46). By Josephus the place is only mentioned as a village in Galilee (Vita 16), and in the Talmud it is not noticed at all, nor does the name occur in any part of the Bible, except the fourth Gospel. The northern site at Kânah was that recognised by the Christians of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, but in the earlier travels Cana seems to be noticed as on the way from Nazareth to Tiberias.

The next scene of the New Testament history is laid on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. In the Gospel of Matthew Christ is said to leave 'his own country' (13. 54) and, departing, by ship, went into the desert (14. 13). In this desert the 5,000 were fed, and the disciples subsequently crossed the lake to the land of Gennesaret (v. 34). In the second Gospel, the name Bethsaida occurs (Mark 6. 45) as being that of a place opposite the desert, and to which the disciples were directed by Christ to proceed by ship; but their actual course took them to Gennesaret (v. 53). By Luke, the desert place is specified (in our version) as 'belonging to Bethsaida,' but this reading does not occur in the Sinaitic manuscript, and the omission is of the greatest importance as serving to make the topography more easily understood as a whole.

In the fourth Gospel the disciples are said to have gone, not to Bethsaida, but towards Capernaum (6. 17). The Sinaitic manuscript in this latter passage reads 'Tiberias *which was* nigh unto the place where they did eat bread,' (v. 23), but this is plainly contrary to the statement that the desert in which the 5,000 were fed was on the side opposite to Gennesaret (Matt. 14. 34), and the present reading 'there came other boats from Tiberias nigh unto the place, &c.' seems preferable. Students who have a right to speak with authority have denied

the value of such variations in the Sinaitic manuscript, because many of the peculiar readings agree in a suspicious manner with the known opinions of Eusebius, while the date usually assigned to the text allows of the possibility that it may be one of the copies prepared by Eusebius at the desire of the Emperor Constantine. The reading under consideration also makes the account of the fourth Gospel inconsistent with itself.

The second miracle of feeding the 4,000 is only mentioned by the first two Evangelists, and Mark makes it follow on the visit of Christ to Decapolis (7. 31, 8. 1). After the event, the disciples crossed over to Magdala (Matt. 15. 39), or Dalmanutha (Mark 8. 10), and it thus appears that the scene of feeding the 4,000 was also in the desert, east (and in this case apparently south-east) of the Sea of Galilee. From Magdala Christ proceeded to Bethsaida on his way to Cæsarea Philippi (Mark 8. 22-27).

The most difficult point in this topography is the notice of Bethsaida in a single passage (Mark 6. 45), in such a manner as to lead to the impression that it was in or near Gennesaret: such a position of Bethsaida does not agree with that subsequently noticed in the Gospels, and cannot be reconciled with the description by profane authors of the town so called.

Bethsaida (perhaps meaning 'the house of fishing') is noticed by Josephus as having received from Herod the name Julius (18 Ant. 2. 1), and as having been near to where Jordan enters the Sea of Tiberias (3 Wars 10. 7). It was in the Tetrarchy of Philip, and according to the express statement of Pliny¹ Julius was on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee.

The learned Reland first noticed the apparent difficulty, and suggested that there was a second Bethsaida, in the land of Gennesaret—a district which is identified through the description by Josephus (3 Wars 10. 8) with the oasis of el-Ghuweir ('the little hollow'), immediately north of Magdala (Mejdel). This theory is, however, open to objections, and a simpler explanation is perhaps possible, if we suppose the Sinaitic manu-

¹ *Hist. Nat.* 15. 15.

script to be right in omitting the definition (Luke 9. 10) of the desert where the 5,000 were fed as 'belonging to the city called Bethsaida.' The omission is, of course, doubtful, because it is necessary for the other reading in the same text which makes this miracle to have occurred near Tiberias; but if the desert in question was really situated at the south-east corner of the Lake, the whole topography is easily understood.

The country of Gadara and Decapolis was visited at least twice by Christ (Luke 8. 37, Mark 7. 31); the miracle of feeding the 4,000 evidently occurred in this district; and there is nothing but the one doubtful reading to forbid our supposing that the first miracle occurred there also.

If such was the site of the miracle the disciples would have set out to go northwards to the opposite end of the lake where Bethsaida Julias stood. They encountered a storm, and found themselves close to the north-western shore. They landed, not at Bethsaida, but at Capernaum in the land of Gennesaret, and it seems clear that they were thus driven out of their intended course. The whole of the subsequent account of the journeys of Christ, His second crossing of the lake, His second return to the land of Gennesaret, and His final journey to Cæsarea Philippi is easily understood, and the Bethsaida mentioned as on the route from Dalmanutha, or Magdala to Cæsarea, is evidently the Julias of Josephus and Pliny, being described as on 'the other side' from the towns, which were near Gennesaret (Matt. 16. 5, Mark 8. 13-22).

The scene of the feeding of the 5,000 was shown, from the fourth to the twelfth century, immediately north of the plain of Gennesaret, and since the fifteenth it has been placed near Tiberias. The suspicious reading in the Sinaitic MS. (John 6. 23) agrees with such a theory, but as it renders the account in the fourth Gospel, not only plainly inconsistent with those of the first two, but also self-contradictory, it may safely be discarded, together with the ecclesiastical traditions which have caused such confusion in the topography of the Gospels. The desert which was the scene of the first miracle (feeding the 5,000) may also perhaps be safely assumed to have been the

same as that of the second (feeding 4,000), which was south-east of the Sea of Galilee, and we are thus able to trace the whole of the various voyages without having recourse to the clumsy expedient of supposing a second Bethsaida, of the existence of which there is no independent proof.

The exact site of Bethsaida Julias is yet undetermined. The modern and insignificant ruins of el-Tell seem scarcely likely to be those of the city built by Herod, and the site of the ruined village of Mes'aidiyeh, suggested by Vandeveld, seems more probably to represent Bethsaida; but in that case the word must be translated 'House of good fortune,' or the corruption both of the A to a guttural and of the S to a softer letter (Tsadi to Shin) must be supposed. The site is, moreover, rather too far south.

Of the other cities surrounding the lake, Magdala (Mejdel) and Chorazin (Kerâseh) are fixed. Tiberias, mentioned only in the fourth Gospel (6. 1. 23), was built by Herod Antipas (18 Ant. 2. 3), and was thus a new city in the time of Christ. According to the Talmud, it occupied the site of the ancient Rakkath (Josh. 19. 35), which from its name must have stood on a 'shore' (Tal. Jer. Megillah 1. 1), and the older title survived until the fourth century.

A second city of importance equal to that of Tiberias existed in the time of Christ on the shores of the Lake, but is not mentioned in the New Testament. This was Tarichæ, the name of which seems to have been in existence in the time of Rameses II. (see Chap. IV.). Pliny states that it was at the south end of the lake, which was sometimes named from it.¹ Josephus tells us that it was 30 stadia from Tiberias (Vita 32), at the bottom of the mountain, fortified, washed by the sea, and with a plain in front (3 Wars 10. 1). We also deduce from his account of Vespasian's camp, which was at the hot baths south of Tiberias (4 Wars 1. 3), and between Tiberias and Tarichæ (3 Wars 10. 1), that Josephus also places the latter town south of the former. The large ruined site of

Kerak agrees exactly in position and in distance with the accounts of Pliny and Josephus.

Last, but not least, we have to consider the site of Capernaum. There is no reasonable doubt that from the fourth century downwards the site shown to Christian pilgrims was at the ruin of Tell Hum, which is exactly the distance from Chorazin mentioned by Jerome as that of Capernaum. Ecclesiastical tradition cannot, however, claim to settle such a matter; and we must turn to the Gospels, the Talmud, and Jewish tradition as the true sources of reliable information.

All that can be gathered from the Gospels is the probability that Capernaum stood in the land of Gennesaret (compare John 6. 17, and Mark 6. 53), and that the place was Christ's 'own city' (Matt. 9. 1). From Josephus we learn that the Fountain of Capernaum watered the plain of Gennesaret (3 Wars 10. 8). These indications are irreconcilable with the site of Tell Hum, which has no spring, and is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Gennesaret.

Capernaum is no doubt the Caphar Nahum of the Talmud (Midrash, Koheleth 7. 17). Commenting on the words 'the sinner shall be taken by her' (Eccl. 7. 26), the Rabbis say that the word *Huta* ('sinner') means a son of Caphar Nahum; and they also explain the same word to be equivalent to the word *Minai* (Koheleth 1. 8), a term by which they understood various heretical sects, including the Christians. We see, therefore, that the reason why they connected the town of Capernaum with the Minai was probably because it was a favourite resort of Christ and the home of Peter (Matt. 8. 14).

A valuable Jewish Itinerary of the year 1334 A.D., by Rabbi Isaac Chelo, contains the following passage:—

'From Arbela (Irbid) one goes to Caphar Nahum, mentioned by the wise (may their memory be blessed!).

'It is a village in ruins, where there is an ancient tomb of Nahum the Old (a Rabbi mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud, Beracoth 7. 48). Formerly there were in this village many Minim.'

There is thus a connection between the site of Capernaum, and the name Minai which dates back to the early centuries of

our era, and which is founded on indigenous (because Jewish tradition. The ruin visited by Isaac Chelo was on the way from Arbela to Kefr 'Anân, and this precludes the idea that he means Tell Hum. The ruin of Minieh at the north end of the plain of Gennesaret is more probably the village of the Minai, the Arabic word being radically identical with the Aramaic and having the same meaning; and it is at the ruin of Minieh, therefore, that Jewish tradition places Capernaum.

The remaining sites of New Testament interest are Bethany (el-'Aziriyeh), Bethphage, and Emmaus. The two latter require a few words of notice.

It appears clear from a number of passages in the Talmud (Menakhoth 11. 2) that Beth Phagi marked the Sabbatical limit East of Jerusalem. This limit was called the 'wall of Bethphagi' (Tal. Bab. Menakhoth 78 b), and the position thus indicated would be 2,000 cubits from the east wall of Jerusalem. The distance measures to the present village of Kefr et-Tor (named from the mountain) on Oliyet, which M. Clermont Ganneau therefore proposes to identify with Bethphage.

The village of Emmaus (Luke 24. 13) was, according to our Version, 60 furlongs from Jerusalem, and according to the Sinaitic 160. This latter distance measures to 'Amwâs—Emmaus-Nicopolis—with which Eusebius identifies the New Testament village; but this seems too far (30 miles) for the double journey of the two disciples, and the village intended was more probably that Emmaus mentioned by Josephus as being 60 stadia from Jerusalem (7 Wars 6. 6). The place has been identified with a variety of sites, but the name has only lately been recovered. Emmaus is a corruption or later form of the Hebrew Hammath, 'a hot spring,' and Emmaus-Nicopolis possessed medicinal springs according to the Talmud (Midrash, Koheleth 7. 7). A ruin with a fine spring exists in a valley 8 miles south-west of Jerusalem. An ancient road leading from the capital to Beit Nettîf, passes along the ridge above the site; the valley contains five good springs within about a mile of the ruin; the name of the place is Khamasa, which is a natural corruption of the ancient Hammath, or Emmaus. This

place, which from the rock-cut tombs¹ near it is evidently an ancient site, may probably therefore be the Emmaus of the New Testament, and the place mentioned by Josephus as 60 stadia from Jerusalem.

In conclusion of the summary thus attempted of New Testament topography, it may be noted as a curious fact, that the towns noticed in the Gospels—excluding the large cities, such as Jerusalem, Tyre, Sidon, &c.—are almost all places not mentioned in the Old Testament. Nazareth and Capernaum, Bethany or Chorazin, are names never occurring in the Hebrew Scriptures; and the scenery of the life of Christ lies as a rule apart from the centres political or religious, which reappear again and again in the earlier episodes of Jewish history.

CHAPTER VII.

JERUSALEM.

JERUSALEM first begins to play a part in Jewish history after the conquest of the city by David. The Salem of Melchisedek is, however, identified by Josephus with the Holy City (1 Ant. 10. 2), and this inference is rendered probable by the notice of the 'King's Dale' (Gen. 14. 17) as the meeting place of Abraham and Melchisedek, the valley so called being the same probably in which Absalom afterwards erected a 'hand' or monument (2 Sam. 18. 18), and which was, according to Josephus, two furlongs from Jerusalem (7 Ant. 10. 3).

In the time of Joshua and the Judges, Jebus is spoken of as a city allotted to Benjamin (Judges 1. 21), but inhabited by the Jebusites (Judges 19. 10, 11), and the name of Jerusalem already occurs as synonymous with the Canaanite title of Jebus.

The meaning of the later name has been a subject of dispute, but Gesenius has established that the true translation of the word is 'Habitation of Peace.' To enter into a discussion of the fanciful derivations of the Talmudic doctors, or of the Fathers of the Church, would therefore serve no good purpose.

Before proceeding to give any account of the topography of Jerusalem, and its gradual growth during the period before the Captivity; at the time of Nehemiah; and in the Hasmonean, and Herodian ages, it is necessary first to obtain a distinct idea of the natural site of the city; of the names of its surrounding valleys; and of the position of the springs and reservoirs named in the Bible.

The topography of Jerusalem has been the subject of continual controversy, and there is probably not a single detail of

its antiquities which has escaped criticism, nor a single natural feature, the position of which has never been disputed. The climax of theory was probably reached by the bold writer who undertook to prove that the Jerusalem of the Bible was really to be sought at Hebron, but several other paradoxes, almost as absurd, might be quoted.

Within the last fifteen years, however, a great deal of definite and valuable information has been obtained. The first correct survey of the city was made by Captain (now Colonel) Wilson, R.E., in 1864. The explorations by Colonel Warren, R.E., during 1867-70 settled many disputed points concerning the Haram area; and in 1872 a map was constructed which shows the level of the surface of the rock, beneath the present surface, in about 200 places lying within the area of 210 acres which is enclosed by the present walls of Jerusalem. Seventy-five of these observations are within the Temple area; several in the city extend over distances of 100 to 300 feet, and, fortunately, they are most numerous in those parts concerning which the principal controversies have arisen. We are thus able to base the present account of the ancient topography of the city on data more exact and positive than any previously acquired, and to read the ancient historic accounts by the light of ascertained facts, instead of guessing at probabilities by the aid of descriptions which, however carefully written, are still, as all written descriptions must be, vague where the student most requires exactitude, and deficient where he most wishes for details.

The watershed of Judæa passes west of Jerusalem, and the city stands on spurs which run out of the main ridge towards the east. Two principal valleys enclose the site and form a junction on the south-east of the town: the first, on the east, being the Kedron, dividing Olivet from the Temple hill; while the second, west and south of the city, appears to be the Biblical Ge Ben Hinnom. Both of these valleys are deep and narrow, with steep, and in places precipitous, sides. The torrent beds are about 500 feet below the hills on which Jerusalem is built, and at the junction they are 650 feet below the watershed.

Three words are used in the Bible to distinguish the valleys

round Jerusalem. The term Nachal—a torrent bed—is applied invariably to the eastern valley, called Kedron ('black'). The term Gai or 'ravine' is used for the Valley of the Son of Hinnom; and the word Emek—meaning a broad vale—is used of the Valley of Rephaim, the position of which has been already described (Chap. III.).

The Ge Ben Hinnom appears, as above stated, to have been the narrow waterless ravine bounding the site of Jerusalem on the south and commencing on the west as a shallow dell. Not only does the line of the border of Judah, which followed this valley and ran south of Jerusalem (Josh. 15. 8), presuppose such a position, but the situation of Tophet in the Valley of Hinnom points to the same conclusion. Tophet was the scene of the Worship of Moloch, and the high place of that idol is mentioned (2 Kings 23. 13) as 'on the south of the Har-ham Mashekith, which is probably the same as Har ham-Meshekah, or Mount of Anointing' (Tal. Jer. Taanith 4. 8), by which name the Rabbis denominate the Mount of Olives. The term Gai can only apply to a narrow trench or ravine, and the above-noticed indications of position preclude the possibility that either the Kedron Valley west of Olivet, or the Tyropœon, which ran through, and not south, of Jerusalem, can be intended by the name Ge Ben Hinnom.

Several other valley names are mentioned in the Old Testament, such as the Valley of Decision (Emek Jehosaphat, Joel 3. 2, 12), the Valley (Emek) of Dead Bodies (Jer. 31. 40), and the Valley of Shaveh already mentioned, but no indication of the position of these places is given, and they have no topographical importance. The fields (Shedemoth) of Kedron were, no doubt, situate in the lower part of the Nachal, where it broadens towards its junction with the Gai. These two terms Nachal and Gai so often used, and to all appearance never confused, are valuable, as serving to indicate the position of places named in connection with them.

Within the parallelogram formed by the boundary valleys, the hill spurs were divided by another valley of a different character—a broad flat-bottomed depression swelling out at the

head into a round dell bounded by steep slopes. This valley is called the Tyropœon by Josephus, and the word is translated to mean 'cheesemakers' (5 Wars 4. 1). No successful attempt has yet been made to discover this title in the Old Testament, nor does the valley appear to be mentioned in the Talmud. It formed, however, a very important feature in the topography of the city.

The direction, depth, and width of the Tyropœon Valley have been fairly well determined by various observations of the level of the rock in its bed. In one of the great cisterns of the Abbey of Ste.-Marie la Grande, in the centre of modern Jerusalem, the rock was bared in 1873 for about 50 feet, and found to be at a level about 2,429 feet above the Mediterranean, descending gradually eastwards. Two other observations, south-west and north-west of this point and 400 feet apart, gave respectively levels of 2,478 and 2,462 feet. At 200 feet north-east of the first point, a section north and south in another cistern has been obtained over a length of nearly 150 feet, with levels giving a fall of 20 feet southwards in that distance, the highest point being 2,440 feet above the Mediterranean. Again, 200 feet farther east, the bottom of the valley has a level of 2,400 feet: and by these observations it is clearly shown both that the valley bed falls eastwards, and that the breadth of the basin north and south is much greater than was supposed, before these observations were made; for the *débris* over this part of the city has a thickness of from 40 to 50 feet, and the true contour has been concealed by it.

The head of the Tyropœon is separated from the head of the Gai or Valley of Hinnom by a narrow shed running north and south. The level of this shed has been determined by about fifteen distinct observations of the rock, and averages about 2,500 feet above the sea. The Tyropœon runs eastwards from this ridge for a distance of about 500 yards, and then sweeps suddenly round southwards. A steep, and in places precipitous, slope exists on the right side of the valley at this corner, the position and height of which (more than 100 feet above the valley bed) have been determined by another set of six

observations of the rock,¹ at levels varying from 2,457 to 2,427 feet above the Mediterranean.

At the angle another branch joins the Tyropœon, running directly north-west and south-east. This is a longer and a narrower valley, having its head close to the main watershed. From the junction the united valleys run southwards and fall into the Nachal Kedron just above its meeting with the Ge Ben Hinnom.

The careful tracing of the Tyropœon has been the work of many years. The bed has been laid bare in various places from time to time, the levels and the direction of the fall have been noted, and the result of the combined observations enables us to speak with tolerable certitude as to the width, depth, and direction of the valley. The recovery of this important feature is the key to the right understanding of the original site of the city; and the description of Josephus can easily be followed now that the actual levels of the various hills have been fairly well determined.

Josephus (5 Wars 4. 1) describes two hills on which the original city stood, and a third on the north-east afterwards covered by the new city, and extending to the ridge of the Temple. The hill of the upper city was the highest and the largest; that of the lower city (Akra) was gibbous-shaped: the third hill, opposite Akra, was still lower, and separated from it by a deep valley, which was filled up with earth by the Hasmonæans, who reduced the height of Akra. The Tyropœon separated the upper and lower city, and extended to Siloam.

The narrow ridge which has been described as separating the Ge Ben Hinnom from the broad flat valley running through modern Jerusalem, forms an isthmus joining to the watershed ridge, a hill which is bounded by the two valleys. This hill is the largest of any of the spurs on which Jerusalem stands, and it is also the highest. It measures 600 yards east and west, and about 1,000 north and south. The plateau at the top being about 2,540 feet above the Mediterranean. We can, therefore, have no hesitation in identifying this with the first hill mentioned by Josephus.

Within a radius of 250 feet round the present Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre about a dozen observations of the rock have been obtained. It results from the levels that the Rotunda of the Church and the Chapel of Calvary stand on a knoll at about 2,490 feet above the sea; and that the ground falls on north, south, and east, with a steep slope, while on the west the knoll is joined to the isthmus which connects the larger southern hill with the watershed. The head of the Tyropœon is thus found to be semicircular, and the knoll north of it has a gibbous form, while the isthmus connects it on the south-west. The description given by Josephus of Akra thus appears to be fulfilled, and we can have little hesitation in identifying that hill with the knoll of the present Sepulchre Church.

The third hill, on which Bezetha, or the New City, stood, was north of the Temple (5 Wars 4. 2); and the valley which separated it from Akra, and which was filled up by the Hasmonæans, was therefore that already described as joining the Tyropœon. Ten observations have been made along its course, and the depth of *débris* in the bottom proves to be from 40 to 50 feet.

The hill of Bezetha is described by Josephus as '*naturally*' lower than Akra, and that part included in the ancient city is not more than 2,500 feet above the sea. Akra was originally so much higher than the Temple as entirely to command the Holy House, but its height was reduced by the Hasmonæans, although actual survey shows that its top is still above the highest point on the Temple ridge. The latter was a long spur, gradually narrowing southwards, and forming the continuation of the Bezetha hill, bounded by the Nachal Kedron on the east, and by the Tyropœon on the west. The surface was artificially modified, and a ditch, cut across the narrowest part of the ridge, separated the Temple hill from Bezetha. The extreme south end of the spur was called Ophel ('the swelling ground'), and sank gradually towards the boundary valleys. The eastern slope above the Kedron was extremely steep, and that on the west more gradual.

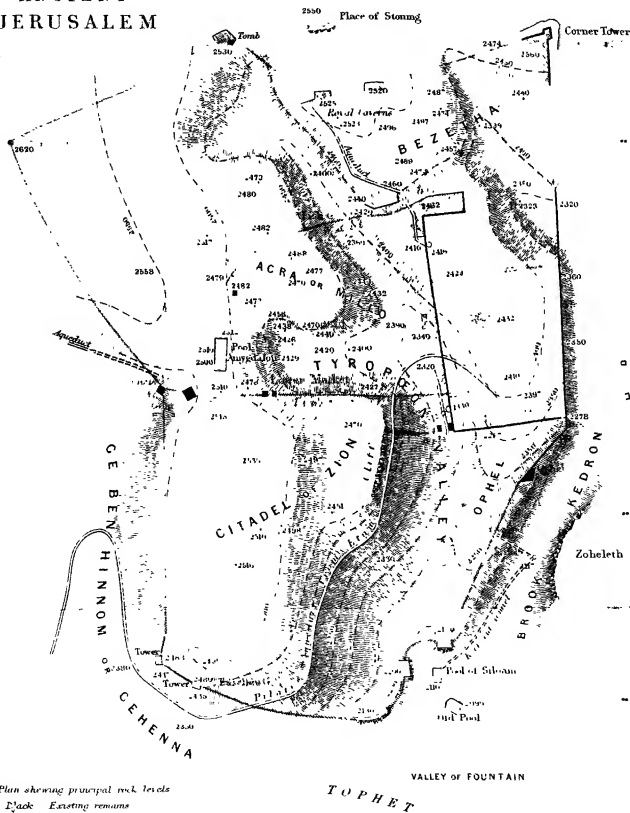
Such being the orographic features of the site, we may next

direct attention to the water supply, which was extremely deficient. Jerusalem possesses only one spring, which wells up with an intermittent action from beneath Ophel, in the narrowest part of the Nachal Kedron. There is nothing to lead us to suppose that any other supply of living water existed at a former period, and indeed there is much which points to a contrary conclusion. On the west of Jerusalem rock-cut reservoirs existed: on the north, surface channels conveyed the rain-water to an aqueduct which led to the Temple hill. That mountain itself was honey-combed with gigantic reservoirs, and an aqueduct from Nephtoah (or Etam) was constructed by Pilate, also with the object of bringing water to the Temple. Other reservoirs within the city are noticed by Josephus, and it thus appears clear that Jerusalem never had any good natural water supply.

The Pool of Siloam is filled from the spring before noticed; and though Josephus calls it a fountain, it does not appear to have any source of its own, although the drainage of the Tyropœon basin makes its way into it. Whenever, therefore, we find terms used in Scripture which imply a spring of living water, it is to the spring under Ophel that reference would seem to be made. A single exception may be noted, however, in respect to this statement, for the Dragon Well (Hebrew *En hat-Tannin* 'snake spring') appears to have been west of the city; but even to this place Josephus gives the title Pool, and the reservoir intended will be shown to have been probably a rock-cut tank.

Two names occur in the Old Testament applying to the spring of Jerusalem. The first of these is *En Rogel* ('the fuller's spring'), which was close to the stone *Zohelath* (1 Kings 1. 9). The name of this stone (or rock) is still well known to the natives (as first discovered by M. Clermont Ganneau), under the Arabic form *Zahweileh*, applying to the cliff on which the modern village of Siloam or *Silwân* stands. *En Rogel*, therefore, was clearly identical with the spring which is now called '*Ain Umm ed-Deraj* (spring the mother of steps); known to Christians as the Virgin's Well.

ANCIENT JERUSALEM



In the same passage above quoted the name Gihon (or more correctly 'the Gihon') first appears (verses 33 and 38). The word is derived from a root meaning 'to burst forth.' It is not strictly speaking a proper name, but should be rendered 'the spring-head,' or, according to Josephus, the 'fountain' outside the city (7 Ant. 14. 5). The Targum of Jonathan renders it by Siloam, referring possibly to the village opposite, which certainly existed before the Targum was written (Luke 13. 4). Solomon, therefore, when crowned at the spring-head of En Rogel, was in full view of Adonijah and his supporters, standing on the cliff of Zoheleth, only about 100 yards distant.

The name Gihon occurs again in the time of Hezekiah, who stopped 'the stream (Mozah) of the upper spring (Gihon), and brought it down straight westwards to the city of David,' such being, according to Keil and other authorities, the proper translation of the passage (2 Chron. 32. 30). The stream in question flowed in the Nachal (compare verse 4), and the Gihon or spring here called the 'upper,' as contrasted with the lower supply artificially formed by the aqueduct which Hezekiah constructed, was thus apparently the same with the Gihon in the valley (Nachal) mentioned a little later (2 Chron. 33. 14). It appears, therefore, that in each of the three passages in which the word Gihon occurs, the spring intended is that of which the true name was En Rogel, identical with the present spring **opposite** Silwân.

The name Siloah signifies, according to Gesenius, 'sent,' with the meaning of artificial direction through an aqueduct. In the Old Testament Siloam is called a pool (Heb. and Arab *Birkeh*), but by Josephus a fountain (Neh. 3 15, 5 Wars 9. 4.) In the New Testament the later form Siloam occurs, but the translation 'sent' connects it with the original Siloah (John 9. 7). Josephus uses the later form, nor does the Arabic Silwân retain the Hebrew guttural.

The waters of Siloam are said to have been sweet (5 Wars 4. 1). In the twelfth century, however, William of Tyre (8. 4) says that they were unsavoury; and at the present time they are brackish. The reason of the change appears to be that the

main drain of Jerusalem^f now leads out into the Tyropœon immediately above the pool.

By the preceding sketch of the physical topography of the site of Jerusalem, we are now prepared for the consideration of the monuments and fortifications which belong to its various historic epochs, and these may be described during four periods: First, from David to the Captivity; secondly, during the time of Nehemiah; thirdly, in the Hasmonean period; and, fourthly, in the Herodian age.

First Period—David to the Captivity (467 Years).

As early as the time of David we find a lower city and a citadel at Jerusalem (7 Ant. 3. 1). The former can be shown to have been the same quarter afterwards called Akra; and the latter, the citadel, is expressly stated by Josephus to have been the same as the Upper City of his own time (5 Wars 4. 1). In the Biblical account (2 Sam. 5. 7-9; 1 Chron. 11. 5-8) the citadel is called 'the Mountain-castle or Acropolis of Sion,' and appears to have been surrounded with a fosse (Tzinnor) or ditch (7 Ant. 3. 1). Others have understood the word to mean an aqueduct, along which Joab crept into the interior; but such was not the view of either Josephus or the Greek translators, and as traces of a rocky scarp surrounding the Upper City exist on the east, on the north, and on the south-west, while at the latter corner there are remains of a fosse, the first-mentioned explanation appears to be the most probable.

The name Zion is in this passage given to the citadel or Upper City, and the same place ('the fort,' Heb. *Metzad*) is said to have been called, after its capture, the City of David. From the fourth century downwards the name Zion has invariably been applied to the larger southern hill of Jerusalem, but there are passages in the Bible which seem to give a wider application to the term. In the poetical books the name is used as synonymous with Jerusalem, or, indeed, as applying to the district round the city. The 'mountains of Zion' are mentioned (Psalm 133. 3), and in the 1st Book of Maccabees the term Mount Zion, if applied to any particular part of the

city, must be taken to mean the Temple hill (1 Macc. 4. 36-39 ; 7. 33). The modern Arabic Sahyûn is the correct equivalent of Zion according to Gesenius—the meaning of the word being ‘sunny’—and a valley called Sahyûn now exists $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of the present city wall. It is also remarkable that the word Zion does not occur in the works of Josephus, who invariably replaces it by the name Jerusalem in his version of events related in the historical books of the Old Testament.

The name City of David is in the same way not restricted to the hill of the Upper City. Millo was in the City of David (2 Chron. 32. 5), and the Ark was brought *up* to the Temple from the City of David (1 Kings 8. 1), whence it appears that the Lower City was included in the term. The name Zion may therefore be considered to apply to the whole site of Jerusalem in its original condition ; and the City of David was the city as existing in David's time.

A single passage has often been quoted in support of the view that David's town was on Ophel, south of the Temple. The Authorised Version (2 Chron. 32. 30) speaks of Hezekiah's aqueduct from the Gihon as leading to the ‘west side of the City of David,’ which should in such a case be placed on the hill pierced by the rock-cut channel. It has, however, been already noticed that the natural translation of the words according to competent authority is ‘westwards to (Marabah al) the City of David,’ which would indicate the hill of the Upper City towards which the channel leads.

It is highly probable that at different times and by different writers the terms Zion and City of David were used in different senses ; but the rare occurrence of the first term in the historical books, and its frequent use in the Psalms and by the Prophets, shows it to have been a poetical title for Jerusalem, while it is clear that the application of the latter term cannot be restricted to the limits of the Upper City.

The first Jewish fortifications erected at Jerusalem embraced a place called Millo in the City of David. The word is always used with the article in the Hebrew, and comes from a root

meaning 'to fill.' The Greek translation invariably renders it by Akra, and as this is the most ancient known indication of the position of 'the Millo,' it must be regarded as the best evidence we possess. Josephus in the same way paraphrases the passage concerning David's wall round Millo by the description of 'buildings round about the Lower City' (7 Ant. 3. 2.) which he identifies with Akra (5 Wars 6. 1). The House of Millo is mentioned (2 Kings 12. 20) in the time of Joash as near the 'descent of Sillah,' which may, perhaps, be the same as the 'steps from the City of David' (Neh. 3. 15), for the word Sillah means 'steps' (Scala, Gesenius), or, according to others, 'a causeway'; or Sillah may be identical with the 'causeway of going up' leading to the west side of the Temple (1 Chron. 26. 16). In either case the identification of Millo with Akra is confirmed.

The references to the walls of Jerusalem before the time of Nehemiah are scanty and vague. After the building epoch of David and Solomon, no change appears to have occurred for 140 years, until Uzziah built towers at the Corner Gate, the Valley Gate, and the turning of the wall (2 Chron. 26. 9). About half a century later Jotham began a wall on Ophel (2 Chron. 27. 3), and nearly a century later again, Manasseh continued this work, and carried it round to the Fish Gate on the north of the city (2 Chron. 33. 14). The position of the various places thus noticed is best understood by the description of their relative positions at the time when Nehemiah restored the work of the later Kings of Judah. The general direction in which the city appears to have spread was towards the east and the north-east, probably because of the proximity of the Temple enclosure, and also because the west side of the city was less easily defended, the ground being flatter and the approach easier than on the east.

Before the Ophel spur had been enclosed the spring of En Rogel was left 400 yards outside the city wall. This was, however, by no means an unusual occurrence in ancient cities. The spring of Shiloh was distant three-quarters of a mile from the town, and Keilah stood on a hill at a distance from the

springs which supplied it greater than that from En Rogel to Jerusalem.

In the time of Hezekiah, however, about 50 years after the Ophel wall had been commenced, it was determined to form a communication from the city to the spring, and to close up the outlet of the latter so as to prevent its being used by an enemy from without (2 Chron. 32. 4-30). Hezekiah's conduit led westwards from the Gihon to a pool which was hewn at the same time (2 Kings 20. 20). The conduit remains, still conveying water to the Pool of Siloam; and a rock-cut shaft from the neighbourhood of the old wall on Ophel leads to the Gihon. The latter is probably the work intended by the Son of Sirach, who says, 'Hezekias fortified his city, and brought in water into the midst thereof' (Ecclus. 48. 17).

An older pool appears to have existed close to that made by Hezekiah at Siloam. It is apparently that called Solomon's Pool by Josephus (5 Wars 4. 2), and Isaiah speaks of 'the reservoir for the waters of the old pool' made in the time of Hezekiah (22. 11).

An old pool still exists in ruins immediately below the Pool of Siloam and this appears to be the one intended, for in the passage just quoted (v. 9) Isaiah speaks of the gathering together of the waters of the *lower* pool. A rock-cut channel leads from Siloam to the larger and older reservoir, and this is perhaps 'the conduit of the Upper Pool,' (Isaiah 36. 2), beside which Rabshakeh stood in the highway of the fuller's field, for the word used for highway is the same which occurs in connection with Millo and the Temple.

It seems, at all events, clear that Siloam was the pool hewn by Hezekiah at the west end of his aqueduct from the Gihon, and that an older reservoir had previously existed near the junction of the Tyropœon with the Nachal Kedron.

As early as the 14th century the sites of what were termed Upper and Lower Gihon were placed on the west side of Jerusalem at the two great tanks now called Birket Mamilla and Birket es-Sultân. The term Gihon cannot, however, be applied to a rain-water tank, as the word means a spring head.

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Birket Mamilla (said to have been named from St. Mamilla, whose church existed near it in 867 A.D.), is possibly the Beth Mamela of the Talmud (Tal. Bab. Erubin 51 *b*, Sanhedrin 24 *a*). As regards the Birket es-Sultân, we find it stated in the Citez de Jherusalem (dating a little after 1187 A.D.) that it was constructed by the Germans. In the Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre under date 1177 A.D. it is called *Lacus Germani*. In accounts of the city written before the 12th century it is never mentioned, and we may safely conclude that it formed no part of the water supply system of ancient Jerusalem.

The Royal Palace and the Tombs of the Kings of Judah next require a short notice; the position of both having been a matter of much controversy.

Solomon's Palace was a large building, containing a judgment hall, a *harâm* or women's apartment, a portico, and other structures. It was situated above and outside the City of David (1 Kings 9. 24, 2 Chron. 8. 11). We can hardly doubt, therefore, that it is the same place called afterwards the King's High House by the court of the prison (Neh. 3. 25), which is mentioned as situate south of the Temple. A gate called the Higher Gate led apparently from this palace to the House of the Lord (2 Chron. 23. 20); and the Horse Gate, or entrance by which the horses came into the king's house (2 Kings 11. 16), was immediately outside the Temple.

Both the High Gate of Benjamin and the Horse Gate are noticed in such a way as to make it clear that they were on the east side of Jerusalem (Jer. 31. 40, Neh. 3. 28, Zech. 14. 10), and Josephus places the latter by the Valley of Cedron (9 Ant. 7. 8). By Ezekiel also the proximity of the royal palace to the Temple is indicated (43. 8); and as the Horse Gate was south of the Temple (Neh. 3. 28), we have little difficulty in determining the general position of the royal palace as standing on the Temple mountain south of the Holy House.

It is not known at what time this palace was finally destroyed; but it is never mentioned by Josephus in the later period of Jewish history, and the royal cloister of Herod's Temple enclosure appears to have occupied its site.

The neighbourhood of Siloam seems to have become the royal quarter of Jerusalem. The King's Garden was by the wall of the pool (Neh. 3. 15). The king's wine presses were apparently in the same locality (Zech. 14. 10), and a place of sepulture, 'the field of burial of the kings' (2 Chron. 26. 23) appears to have been within the royal garden of Uzzah (2 Kings 21. 26), which was no doubt the same place as the King's Garden (Jer. 39. 4). Thus at a later period we find the sepulchres of David, mentioned in the same connection, and apparently situated on Ophel above Siloah (Neh. 3. 16); these cannot, however, be the royal tombs mentioned so frequently as being within the City of David.

It appears, in fact, pretty certain that two royal cemeteries existed, one within Jerusalem and one outside near Siloam. In the former, nine famous monarchs were entombed, namely, David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijam, Jehoshaphat, Amaziah, Jotham, Hezekiah, and Josiah. In the other, Uzziah, Manasseh, and Amon were buried, in a garden outside the city belonging to the royal palace. This place is called 'the field of burial belonging to the kings' (2 Chron. 26. 23).

It is most interesting to enquire where the nine more famous kings were entombed; but of this we have no exact indication in the Bible, though the place was apparently well known as late as the time of Christ (Acts 2. 29, 16 Ant. 7. 1.)

From the Talmud we learn that all tombs were outside Jerusalem, except those of the family of David, and that of the prophetess Huldah (Tosiphta, Baba Bathra, chap. 1) although it was not considered certain whether some 'tomb of the depth' or hidden sepulchre might not exist unknown beneath the surface (Parah 3. 2).

It is remarkable that one undisputed Jewish tomb still exists in such a position as to have been certainly within the City of David, because it stands almost on the top of the knoll of Akra or Millo. This is the so-called tomb of Nicodemus, immediately outside the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre Church; and it is yet more remarkable that in its original condition, before it was partly destroyed, this tomb must have been just made to

contain nine bodies, placed in *Kokim* or graves cut according to the oldest arrangement employed by the Jews. Josephus also mentions as a peculiarity of the tombs of the kings that some of the coffins were buried, beneath the surface, so as to be unseen even by those standing within the monument (7 Ant. 15. 3). Just such an arrangement exists in the tomb under consideration, the floor of which is sunk so that the graves on one side are on a lower tier.

It seems, therefore, quite possible that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre preserves the monument of the nine chief kings of Jerusalem: for the tradition which places their tombs on the hill of the upper city is of late origin, nor have any indications of ancient tombs been discovered in that locality.

One or two scattered notices of places in Jerusalem occur in the earlier books of the Old Testament, which may be briefly noticed.

The Gate Sur (2 Kings 11. 6) was apparently in the Temple enclosure, as was also the New Gate (Jer. 26. 10), which was apparently the same as the High Gate already noticed (Jer. 36. 10), which formed the royal entry from the palace. It is also called the High Gate of Benjamin (Jer. 20. 2, see also 2 Kings 15. 35, 2 Chron. 23. 20, 27. 3).

A place called Mishnah, rendered 'college' and 'second' (2 Kings 22. 14, Zeph. 1. 10), also existed in Jerusalem, and seems to have been probably a quarter of the city. The Prison was close to the Royal Palace. The Bakers Street (Jer. 37. 21), and the 'graves of the common people' (Jer. 26. 23) are also mentioned, but their positions as well as that of the 'third entry' (Jer. 38. 14) are quite unknown.

Second Period--The Restorations of Nehemiah (407 Years).

The topographical chapters of the Book of Nehemiah are the second, third, and twelfth. The building of the city wall is described from the north-east, westwards, southwards, eastwards, and northwards. The various points enumerated are as follows:—

(1), *The Sheep Gate* was probably that by which the sacrifices were brought to the Temple.

(2), *Towers of Meah and Hananeel*. These may probably have formed part of the castle north of the Temple, which was afterwards rebuilt under the name Antonia. Hananeel is noticed in another passage (Zech. 14. 10), apparently as marking the north-east corner of the wall of Jerusalem. That a fortress did exist on the Temple hill at this time is to be inferred from the mention of 'the palace' (*Birah*, more correctly castle) 'which appertained to the house' (that is to the Temple), and which formed part of the fortifications of Jerusalem (Neh. 2. 8). At a later period the name Baris is noticed by Josephus as applying to the citadel replaced by Antonia (1 Wars 3. 3), and the word *Birah* is used in the Talmud apparently with the same meaning (Middoth 1. 9, Tamid 1. 1, Zebakhim 12. 3).

(3), *The Fish Gate*, according to a Targum (2 Chron. 33. 14), was a gate where a fish-market existed. It was, no doubt, on the main road to the sea, which in the ancient times left Jerusalem from the north (cf. Neh. 13. 16).

(4), *The Old Gate* was between the last and the next, as is shown by another passage (Neh. 12. 39).

The name *Yeshanah* ('old') is very probably connected with the name *Mishnah* (Zeph. 1. 10), which is also noticed in connection with the Fish Gate.

(5), *The Gate of Ephraim* was 400 cubits from the Corner Gate (2 Chron. 25. 23).

(6), *The Broad Wall*.

(7), *The Tower of the Furnaces (or Ovens)*.

(8), *The Gate of the Valley (Gai)*. The Hebrew name indicates its position as being the gate leading to the Ge Ben Hinnom. It is also mentioned (Neh. 2. 13) as facing the Dragon's Spring, and we can have little hesitation in supposing that the Dragon's Spring, or Well (*En*), is the same place called the Serpent's Pool by Josephus (5 Wars 3. 2). The latter reservoir was close to certain monuments erected by Herod, and we learn from the account of Titus's wall of circumvallation that Herod's monument lay westwards of the place called the Camp of the

Assyrians, which was north-west of Jerusalem, and not far from the wall of Nehemiah (5 Wars 7. 2). It is possible that the present Birket Mamilla may be the Dragon's Well, or that the spring or reservoir (whichever it was) is now buried, and was closer to the city. It is not possible, however, to place either the Dragon's Well or the Gate of the Gai (Valley) very far south of the line of the present road entering the Jaffa Gate.

(9), *The Corner Gate*. Is mentioned by Jeremiah as being on the side of Jerusalem opposite to Hananeel (31. 38), the two places indicating the extreme breadth of the city. By Zechariah it is called the First Gate (Zech. 14. 10). The most probable position is shown on the Map.

(10), *The Dung Gate* was distant 1,000 cubits from the Valley Gate (Neh. 3. 13). This distance measured along the west wall of Jerusalem from the Jaffa Gate in the direction of the ancient rock scarp with towers, which marks the old south-west corner of the city, reaches as far as the road which now leads up from the valley. The place called Bethso by Josephus, which is best rendered 'House of Dung' (Bethzua), must have been in the same locality, being between Hippicus and the south-west corner of the wall (5 Wars 4. 2).

(11), *Gate of the Fountain (or Spring)*, probably was named from the Valley of the Fountain (5 Wars 12. 2), and we are thus brought to the south-east corner of the city.

There is some reason for supposing that two walls existed in the neighbourhood of Siloam. Josephus says that Manasseh 'added another wall to the former' (10 Ant. 3. 2), and this fortification is spoken of in the Bible as 'outside the city of David' (2 Chron. 33. 14). At the time of the siege of Jerusalem, by Titus, Siloam was so far outside the city walls that the Romans were able to obtain water from it (5 Wars 9. 4), and the line of fortification ran on the hill above the pool (5 Wars 4. 2). The gate between two walls, and the ditch between two walls (2 Kings 25. 4, Isaiah 22. 11) were in this same vicinity, and the 'Wall of the Pool of Siloah' (Neh. 3. 15), might even be thought to enclose that pool.

The various descriptions are too vague to allow of our

tracing the line very accurately in this part; but it seems not improbable that a lower wall close to the pool, and an older line of fortification higher on the hill, existed in the time of Nehemiah. And, indeed, before the city fortifications were extended eastwards to include Ophel, the ancient ramparts would most probably have run along the crest of the western hill, instead of descending towards Siloam in order to cross the Tyropœon Valley.

(12), *The Stairs from the City of David* probably descended the side or bed of the Tyropœon, leading from the lower city, for the wall ascended near them from the Fountain Gate, and trended eastwards towards the next mentioned gate (Neh. 12. 37).

(13), *The Turning of the Wall* was apparently the place where the wall began to run northwards, and seems to have been near the next point.

(14), *The Water Gate* was no doubt situated near the rock tunnel, which descends from the hill of Ophel to the interior of the spring of En Rogel.

(15), *The Projecting Tower*. The foundations of this tower, with portions of the ancient wall of Ophel, were discovered by Captain Warren north of the rock-cut channel just noticed. It is most interesting to note that the wall was not founded on live rock—as are the rampart walls of the Temple enclosure—but built on clay, some 3 or 4 feet above the rock. The stones also appear to have been previously used, and about 20 feet of the lowest part of the wall is made of rough rubble. These details seem to indicate the hasty reconstruction of the time of Nehemiah.

(16), *The Prison Gate* (Neh. 12. 39) was probably by 'the Court of the Prison,' which was near the Royal Palace (Neh. 3. 25). It may be supposed that this gate led out eastwards, from the enclosure which contained at that time the Temple and the Palace.

(17), *The Gate of Miphkad* ('review, meeting, or muster').

(18), *The Corner*, probably the north-east corner of the Temple enclosure, near the Sheep-gate.

The eleven gates thus enumerated are all which seem certainly to have belonged to the outer walls, and they may all be identified as on the lines of existing paths. There were several others not mentioned by Nehemiah, such as the High Gate of Benjamin, and the Horse Gate, both of which have been already noticed as belonging to the Royal Palace. The gate Harsith (rendered 'dung,' or 'pottery,' or 'east') is also mentioned by Jeremiah (19. 2) in connection with the Ge ben Hinnom.

Without the assistance of existing ruins, or without the plainer description of the course of the city walls by Josephus, it would be impossible to lay down the course of Nehemiah's wall with any accuracy. But Josephus tells us that the walls of the Upper City were very ancient, and we have no reason to suppose that those erected by Nehemiah had been destroyed before the time of Herod. The line described by Josephus was probably the same restored by Nehemiah, and was that originally built by the kings from Solomon to Manasseh. The rock scarps on which it stood are still visible in places, and on the hill of Ophel the wall itself, buried beneath *débris*, is still standing to a great height. The only place where the line cannot be very clearly followed is in the immediate neighbourhood of Siloam, where further exploration is much needed.

Third Period—The Hasmoneans (133 Years).

Considerable alterations in the topography of Jerusalem were made by the Hasmonean princes. Simon built a wall in the midst of the city to exclude the market-place from the garrison (13 Ant. 5. 11, 1 Macc. 12. 36). Its exact position is nowhere described, but it is possible that the same wall is afterwards described by Josephus as the north quarter of the first wall.

John Hyrcanus built or more probably repaired Baris (18 Ant. 4. 3); and during the Hasmonean period the Akra citadel was demolished, and the ground on which it had stood was levelled, the valley east of it being filled up with the *débris* (13 Ant. 6. 7, 5 Wars 4. 1). This was a work of considerable magnitude, and three whole years were occupied in completing

it. The object was to make it impossible for any fortress built on Akra again to command a view of the interior of the Temple courts.

The Palace of the Hasmoneans in the Upper City will be noticed later.

Fourth Period—The Herodian Age (108 Years).

Of the condition of the city in this later period we have numerous accounts in the works of Josephus and in the Talmud. We may consider in order the walls, the quarters, the palaces, the public buildings, and the tombs of the city, with the water supply as existing at the time of the great siege.

The position of the three Royal Towers, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, is the key to Josephus's account of the walls of Jerusalem. They were on the north side of the First Wall, and adjoined to the Royal Palace (5 Wars 4. 4). They were in the Upper City (6 Wars 9. 1), as was Herod's Palace (1 Wars 21. 1); and the latter was near the west quarter (6 Wars 8. 1).

The Upper City, as we have already seen, was that part of Jerusalem standing on the higher southern hill. The Royal Towers were in the north-west angle of this hill, and the present citadel of Jerusalem occupies the same site. Hippicus must apparently have been farthest west of the three, because the Third Wall also started from it; and the western tower of the citadel (measuring 40 by 50 feet) may, perhaps, represent the site. Phasaelus was the largest of the three (40 cubits, or about 53 feet, square); it stood on a solid base of equal height, and had an outer cloister, or covered way, 10 cubits above the base. The description applies in a remarkable manner to the great tower called David's Tower in the modern citadel, the base of which is solid, and now covered with a sloping scarp, apparently Crusading work, above which is a breastwork covering a passage which runs round the tower outside. David's tower measures 55 feet north and south, but on the west it is joined to other buildings. The sloping scarp rises from a fosse, partly filled with rubbish.

The third tower, Mariamne, was the smallest and least lofty,

being only 20 cubits square, and 30 high; its exact position is not now recognisable.

From the description given by Tacitus¹ of Jerusalem, we learn that the towers situated on rock scarps or crags were only half the height of those on level ground. In the south-west corner of ancient Jerusalem the rock scarps on which the towers once stood are still in existence, and we may naturally suppose that the solid bases of the Royal Towers were also of rock. Hippicus and Phasaelus were of equal height (50 cubits), but their bases were respectively 30 and 40 cubits high. Mariamne was 30 cubits high, with a base of 20 cubits. It seems most probable that the tops of the towers were on one level, and that the slope of the rock caused these differences in the heights of the bases.

Josephus calls the first wall of the city 'the Old Wall,' and attributes it to David and Solomon. From Hippicus it ran to the west cloister of the Temple, reaching the Xystus, or Gymnasium, and the Council House, the position of which will be discussed later. On the west side the wall ran through Bethso, (probably the Dung Gate of Nehemiah), to the Gate of the Essenes, and thence to Siloam. The south-west corner of the city is defined by the existing remains already noticed of a strong rock scarp with projecting tower bases, which were fully explored in 1874-5. The rock wall is about 50 feet in height, and the towers 40 feet square and 400 feet apart, with flights of rock-hewn steps, and cisterns, as described by Josephus (5 Wars 4. 3). Immediately east of the south-east tower is a rock-cut fosse, which seems to have led to a gate, but further excavation is here needed. From the north-west tower the scarp extends northward in the same line with the present west wall of Jerusalem.

Above the fountain of Siloam the old wall bent and ran to Solomon's Pool, where it bent again and reached to Ophel and the Eastern Cloister of the Temple. This description is, however, unfortunately vague, and without further excavation it is impossible exactly to lay down the line in this part. The

¹ *Annals*, Book 1, Chap. 11.

Ophel wall was traced by Captain Warren for about 700 feet from the south-east corner of the Temple enclosure, when no further traces could be found. It is possible that the rocky scarp immediately west of the Pool of Siloam, and about 100 feet above it, may have formed the foundation of the ancient line of fortification; but the point where the south-east corner existed can only be fixed by determination of the position of Solomon's Pool, and as to this we cannot at present feel certain. Solomon's Pool is very probably the King's Pool of Nehemiah (2. 14), which seems to have been the Old Pool below Siloam. It is difficult to conceive that the city walls can have been brought so near the level of the valley beds, and not easy to understand where the wall can have crossed the deep Tyropœon; at the same time the 'going up of the wall' from the neighbourhood of Siloam to the Water Gate on the east, is distinctly mentioned by Nehemiah (12. 37), and even at the lowest point it would have been from 40 to 80 feet above the valley. Josephus in another passage also appears to indicate a low position for the wall (5 Wars 6. 1), and says that it extended eastwards from Siloam.

The course of the Second Wall may be considered the principal subject of controversy in Jerusalem topography, and the reason is that but little information on the subject is available. It began at the Gate Gennath, belonging to the First Wall; it only surrounded the north quarter of the city, and curved round (such is the strict meaning of the Greek) to Antonia.

The north quarter here mentioned is presumably the lower city; and as the position of Akra has been fairly determined, the line of the wall should be drawn so as to include that hill. Another indication may be obtained from the proportion of the number of towers on the wall. The First Wall had 60 and the Second 14. We do not, however, know whether the distances apart were uniform.

The Gennath Gate has been variously explained to be the 'garden gate,' leading to Herod's palace or the Gehennah gate, leading to the valley so named, and thus identical with the Valley Gate of Nehemiah. In either case it would be neu

Hippicus. The tracing of the Tyropœon bed, and the discovery of its unsuspected width and depth, render it impossible to place the starting point of the Second Wall very far east of Hippicus, for it is, from a military point of view, impossible to suppose that the wall crossed the deep valley, leaving an isthmus of high land unprotected immediately outside. The natural course would have been along the ridge of the isthmus and so west of Akra; and the narrowness of the shed limits the position of the wall to the immediate neighbourhood of the Royal Towers.

The indications afforded by the rock levels are in accordance with many incidental references to the wall by Josephus, which may be briefly summed up.

On the west side of the city, opposite a postern which led from Hippicus, was the monument of John Hyrcanus the High priest (5 Wars 6. 5, 7. 2.) It was here that the 15th Legion made its attack, directed against the Upper City (5. 9. 2) and the palace of Herod (6. 8. 1). The pool Amygdalon (or 'tower pool') was 30 cubits from the High priest's monument and here in the 'north quarter' of the city the 10th Legion made its banks, assisting the 15th in their attack on the Upper City. We can have little hesitation in identifying Amygdalon with the large rock-cut pool north of the present citadel, and now called Hammâm el-Batrak.

John's monument was, therefore, apparently some 40 feet west of the pool so identified, and the three walls of Jerusalem seem to have passed near the monument (5 Wars 6. 2). The starting point of the Second Wall is thus to be sought not far from the tower Hippicus, and the Gennath Gate may possibly be the postern by which an aqueduct came in to the towers (5 Wars 7. 2), of which aqueduct remains still exist near the present Jaffa gate. In this case the Amygdalon pool was inside the Second Wall, which agrees with its not being noticed in the account of the great siege before the Second Wall was taken.

If the line thus indicated for the Second Wall be correct, the present site of the Holy Sepulchre and the ancient tomb near it, already described, lay within the city at the time of Christ. The existence of this ancient tomb has been sometimes taken as

evidence for another course of the wall, because the Mishna (Baba Bathra, 2. 9) says that 'corpses, and sepulchres, and tanneries are separated from the city fifty cubits.'

Such an argument would have force as showing that a monument of late date, like that of the High priest John, was probably outside the city; but the Jews were by no means certain that more ancient tombs did not exist hidden beneath the surface inside the walls of Jerusalem, and they took many precautions founded on such a supposition (see Parah 3. 2).

Yet further, it has been shown that the ancient sepulchre in question has some claim to be considered that of the nine kings of Judáh; and its existence, instead of militating against the supposed line of the wall, thus adds to its likelihood; for the Tosiphta (Baba Bathra, 1) states that the tombs of the family of David were within the walls of Jerusalem.

A question concerning which various authorities have maintained such contrary views, can only be settled by the actual recovery of the wall. It is to be feared, however, that the desire to establish the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre on the one hand, and the wish to disprove it on the other, have been active motives in most of the controversies which have been carried on regarding the course of the Second Wall.

The Third Wall of Jerusalem was commenced by Agrippa, and finished just before the great siege. It was consequently not in existence in the time of Christ; but the new city which it enclosed (when built only 10 years later) must have been already spreading as a suburb at the time of the Crucifixion, and the place of public execution would no doubt have been outside it. The line of the Second Wall has not therefore, in reality, the amount of importance attributed to it in connection with the site of Calvary, although the existence of any ancient wall dating from the time of Christ, and *inclosing* the present traditional site, is fatal to its claims. The suburb of the new city extended principally north of the Temple; but the large area enclosed by the Third Wall to the west and north-west of the Holy Sepulchre Church shows that this site was probably surrounded by buildings as early as the time of the Crucifixion.

The Third Wall began at Hippicus, and reached to the octagonal tower Psephinus, which stood at the north-west corner of the wall (5 Wars 4. 3), and on very high ground, commanding a view of the mountains of Arabia. It is probable that the high ground near the present Russian Cathedral is thus indicated; whence the mountains south-east of Petra are distinctly visible when covered with snow. The statement that the Mediterranean could also be seen from it is, however, an error on the part of Josephus, for the sea is not visible from any place near Jerusalem.

From Psephinus, the Third Wall ran eastwards until opposite the monuments of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, which were about three furlongs from the city (20 Ant. 4. 3). A gate and towers, called the Women's Towers, existed at this point (5 Wars 2. 2). Helena's monument is mentioned by St. Jerome (Epit. Paulæ) as situated east of the great north road from Neapolis; and Pausanias¹ mentions the rolling stone of the door. It seems probable, therefore, that the monument intended is that now called Kabûr es-Salatân (Sultan's tombs), or Kabûr el-Molûk (Tombs of the Kings), a monument which is dated by architects as belonging to the 1st century of our era. In this monument, the sarcophagus of Meleka Sarah (Queen Sarah) was discovered by M. de Saulcy, with an inscription in letters approaching square Hebrew. The system of tomb chambers seems to have belonged to the royal family of Adiabene, several of whom became converts to Judaism.

From the Women's Towers the Third Wall extended to the Royal Caverns, and passed *through* or *over* them. The great quarries, whence the Temple stones were hewn, seem here to be intended by Josephus; and the line of the wall thence to the Tower of the Corner, where it turned south towards the Temple, seems to have coincided with that of the great rocky scarp with its outer ditch, which forms the foundation of the modern city wall.

The number of towers on the Third Wall was 90, and they

¹ *Grecia Descript.* 8. 16.

were 200 cubits apart, according to Josephus. This would give a length of 8,000 yards for the whole of the wall; but the circuit of Jerusalem, according to Josephus, was 33 furlongs, or 6,600 yards. The two statements are evidently inconsistent, and some exaggeration or error has probably occurred in the case of the Third Wall. The measurements given by Josephus are, however, rarely very exact, and generally (as in describing Cæsarea, Samaria, and Jotapata) they err on the side of overstatement. They were probably not based on actual measurement in the first instance: they were written down in Rome—those in the Wars about A.D. 75, those in the Antiquities as late as A.D. 93. They have suffered much in the hands of copyists; and thus, even without accusing him of intentional exaggeration, they must be considered of little value when they disagree with actual measurement of existing monuments.

No possible plan of Jerusalem, in accordance with the description by Josephus, will give a circuit much over 5,700 yards, or 28 furlongs. And the length of the Third Wall appears to have been actually about 2,500 yards, or not much more than three-tenths of that given by Josephus. The line of the wall of circumvallation by Titus (5 Wars 12. 2), which was no doubt made as short as possible, seems to have had a total length of about 5,200 yards, or 26 furlongs; but by Josephus it is stated at 39 furlongs. Actual survey at Jerusalem, as in other places in Palestine, thus tends to show the inaccuracy of Josephus's measurements.

The city was divided into quarters, as already described. The term Upper Market, applying to the Upper City, is also found in the Talmud (Shekalim 8. 1), and it is there said to have been inhabited by heathen fullers. The Lower Market (Suk hat-Tahtun) is also noticed (Tosiphta, Sanhedrin 14) and appears to have been in the Lower City; and two places or quarters, called the two Bezain (or Bezin. Tosiphta, Sanhedrin 3) are mentioned, but without any indication sufficient to fix their position. Nor can we say where the market of the wool-merchants and that of the fatteners were placed (Erubin 10. 9; compare 5 Wars 8. 1).

The population of Jerusalem is stated by Josephus to have been 3,000,000 during the siege, and by Tacitus it is given as 600,000, whereas the present population is only 22,000. The average area of house room in the city is now about 7 square yards per soul. The area of the ancient city was less than 2,000,000 square yards, and from this we must take perhaps half for the Temple, the streets, and the public places, gardens, palaces, and orchards within the walls. The city could thus easily have held 300,000 souls as an ordinary population, and the estimate of 600,000 given by Tacitus¹ as that during the siege seems to be within the bounds of probability, whereas the higher number quoted by Josephus appears most probably exaggerated, representing more than half the total population of Palestine at the time of David.

The public buildings of the city next claim attention, among which the Xystus may be noticed first. This place was probably the same as the Gymnasium which was established by the High priest Jason before the revolt (1 Macc. 1. 14, 12 Ant. 5. 1). It was situated in the valley under the west wall of the Temple enclosure (6 Wars 6. 2), and had gates above it in that wall. It appears to have been not far from the great Tyropœon bridge, and was evidently north of it. It seems probable that the Hippodrome mentioned in other passages (2 Wars 3. 1) may have been the same place. The remains of the Xystus are perhaps connected with the ancient chamber discovered by Captain Warren near the pool el-Bûrak, north of the Jews' wailing place.

Among other public buildings a theatre, erected by Herod in Jerusalem (15 Ant. 8. 1), is mentioned; and the Council House and Archives are also noticed (6 Wars 6. 3), both apparently in the Lower City, and the first near the Xystus (5 Wars 4. 1). In the Lower City also, not far above Siloam, was the palace of the royal family of Adiabene (5 Wars 6. 1, 6 Wars 6. 3).

It appears that the Hasmonean princes built themselves a

¹ *Hist.* 5. 12.

palace in the Upper City towards the east. This was afterwards enlarged by Agrippa. It was above and in sight of the Xystus and close to the Tyropœon bridge. It was at such a height as to command a view into the Temple, and must therefore have stood near the top of the mountain (20 Ant. 8. 11, 2 Wars 16. 3). Herod's palace in the Upper City near the Royal Towers was distinct from the one thus described, and the Upper City had thus two palaces; while the fortress of Antonia—the Prætorium of Pilate—formed a third royal residence.

The principal sepulchral monuments of the city included the royal sepulchres of the kings of Judah, inside the city; the monument of the High priest John outside, on the west; the tomb of Helena on the north, at a distance of 3 furlongs; the monument of King Alexander (Janneus), apparently on the east, and very probably to be identified with the Tantûr Far'ôn, or Absolom's Tomb (5 Wars 7. 2); and the monument of the Fuller near the north-east corner of the city. The tomb of the Prophetess Huldah also existed inside the city, and that of Simon the Just was probably the same now shown in the valley called Wâdy el-Jôz, north of Jerusalem. The monument of Ananus the High priest is also noticed on the south of the city (5 Wars 12. 2). It is not easy to understand what is intended by Herod's monuments (5 Wars 3. 2; and 12. 2). Herod the Great was buried at Herodium, and Herod Agrippa died at Cæsarea. The position of the monument also forbids us to suppose that it was the one erected by Herod over the entrance to the Tombs of the Kings.

The main cemetery of Jerusalem at this period appears to have been on the north. A great number of Jewish tombs exist on that side of the city, while those on the east and south are principally Christian. It is on the north of the city perhaps that we should look for the true site of the Tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa, in a garden such as those which are noticed by Josephus as existing on the north (5 Wars 2. 2).

The place of public execution also appears to have been situated north of the city. It was outside the gate (Heb. 13. 12), and yet 'nigh unto the city' (John 19. 20). In the

Mishna it is called Beth-has-Sekilah, 'House of Stoning, and is also placed outside the city by a reference to Leviticus (24. 14). It is said to have been 'two men high' (Sanhedrin 6. 1). The Jews of Jerusalem still point out the site at the cliff, north of the Damascus gate, where is a cave now called 'Jeremiah's Grotto.' This site has therefore some claim to be considered as that of the Crucifixion—the place called Golgotha or Calvary. It is within 200 yards of the wall of Agrippa, but was certainly outside the ancient city. It is also close to the gardens and the tombs of the old city, which stretch northwards from the cliff; and it was close to the main north road, in a conspicuous position, such as might naturally be selected for a place of public execution.

The water supply of Jerusalem requires a short notice in conclusion of this account of the city. The reservoirs in the Temple enclosure are noticed by Tacitus, with the pools and cisterns and the one perennial spring.¹ Josephus mentions that many of the Jews took refuge in the subterranean caverns beneath the Temple and elsewhere (6 Wars 8. 5; 7 Wars 2. 1), and the Mishna explains that Jerusalem and the courts of the Holy House were founded on caverns to secure the sanctity of the buildings above them by interposing a hollow space between the upper surface and any unknown grave beneath (Parah 3. 2). The caverns themselves were not held to be part of the sacred or pure area.

It has been already mentioned that the great reservoir west of Jerusalem (Birket es-Sultân) was not in existence in the time of Josephus: and from his silence on the subject it may be inferred that the yet larger tank called Birket Israil, north of the Temple, was also not then built: for so important a feature in the topography could hardly have otherwise escaped notice in the history of the siege. A ditch existed at the time on this side, and has been partly closed over to form the Twin Pools at the north-west corner of the Temple enclosure. The masonry of the Birket Israil has the appearance of Byzantine,

¹ *Hist.* 5. 12.

or even later work, and no distinct reference to the pool is found before the twelfth century.

The remaining pools and springs noticed by Josephus. are seven in all, as follows :—1. The Serpent's Pool, on the west, outside the city. 2. Amygdalon, which, as before noticed, appears to be the present Pool of the Bath (Hammâm el-Batrak). 3. Struthius, close to Antonia (5 Wars 11. 4). 4. The Fountain of Siloam. 5. Solomon's Pool, apparently the old pool below the last. 6. The fountain in the valley of that name (5 Wars 12. 2), in which we may perhaps recognise the present Bîr Eyûb, which was rediscovered by the Christians A.D. 1184, and which still overflows annually in early spring. 7. Gihon, or En Rogel.

In addition to these, we find the Pool of Bethesda, mentioned in the fourth Gospel as near the 'sheep place.' The Sinaitic MS. reads Bathzatha and the Alexandrine reads Bethsaida. In the fourth century the site was shown at the Twin Pools north-west of Antonia. In the twelfth it was supposed to be a cistern near the Church of St. Anne, and since the fourteenth it has been identified with the Birket Israîl. None of these reservoirs have any supply of living water, and none can well be supposed to have had any intermittent rise and fall such as we might understand by the 'moving of the waters' (John 5. 3). Unfortunately, we do not know whether the Probatica or 'sheep place' was a market, a gate, or something else; and the word does not, therefore, assist in fixing the position of the pool. There are two other sites which may be regarded as possible for Bethesda, the first being the spring of En Rogel, which has an intermittent ebb and flow, and which is still frequented by the Jews who bathe in it to cure various diseases. The other is the curious well immediately west of the Temple enclosure, now called Hammâm esh-Shefa 'the Healing Bath.' A long reservoir, reached by a shaft nearly 100 ft. deep. It is, however, impossible to speak with any certainty on the question.

Three aqueducts supplied Jerusalem with water. On the south, the conduit constructed by Pontius Pilate (18 Ant. 3. 2)

brought water from the 'spring of Etam ('Ain 'Atân) where Solomon's gardens had been formerly made (Tal. Bab. Yoma 31 a, 8 Ant. 7. 3). The aqueduct has been traced yet farther south to the springs of Wâdy 'Arrûb and to 'Ain Kueizîba, the total length of the line being forty-one miles, though in a straight line the head spring is only thirteen miles from Jerusalem. The water was conducted to the Temple enclosure.

Another aqueduct from the same source is traceable in the direction of Jerusalem, but is lost on the Plain of Rephaim. It seems probably to have run to the Birket Mamilla (perhaps the Serpent's Pool), and a conduit thence led, probably on the line of the present channel, from that reservoir to the cisterns 'under the tower Hippicus (5 Wars 7. 2).

The northern aqueduct is not mentioned by Josephus, and its discovery was quite unexpected. It can be traced from the neighbourhood of the present Damascus gate to the Twin Pools, and thence southwards to the Temple wall, which has been built across it. A cistern exists inside the enclosure opposite the end of the aqueduct, and was probably supplied by it.

Another channel connected with two cisterns, and also cut across by the west wall of the Temple enclosure, was discovered by Captain Warren running northwards from the Tyropæon bridge towards the Hammâm esh-Shefa. It seems not unlikely that this is also part of the northern aqueduct which would thus have been continued towards Siloam, the Hammâm esh-Shefa being perhaps one of the wells supplied by it.

The supply of this last aqueduct appears to have been obtained from rain water. A deep trench exists outside the scarp of the old city wall on the north, just where the channel begins, and beyond this trench on the sides of the hill of Jeremiah's Grotto there are several surface channels converging towards the trench. The levels of the ground in this part forbid us to suppose any connection with the southern channels or with the western aqueduct.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TEMPLE.

THE following account of the Temples of Solomon and Herod in Jerusalem is based on the comparison of ancient descriptions with the results of the explorations made on the site during the last twelve years by Colonel Wilson, R.E., Colonel Warren, R.E., and Lieutenant Conder, R.E., including the survey by the first-mentioned officer, and the seventy-five observations of the rock levels, which are now recorded within the area of the Haram esh-Sherif or 'High Sanctuary.'

The great enclosure of the Haram is a quadrangle, with unequal sides. In the north-east and south-west corners the walls are at right angles; the south-east corner has an angle of $92^{\circ} 30'$. The west wall measures 1,601 ft., the south 922, the east 1,530, and the north 1,042 ft. The area included is thirty-five acres.

The rampart walls which enclose this site have a height of from 30 ft. to 170 ft. above the rock, and an average thickness of about 8 ft. The ground on the interior is artificially but rudely levelled, the surface being partly of rock, partly of banked-up earth, and partly supported on vaults of masonry. The rock rises at the north-west corner of the Haram to a level 2,462 ft. above the Mediterranean, and the surface is here equalised by excavation, leaving a scarp 42 ft. in height. The rock is lowest in the south-east corner of the area (2,278 above the sea), and by help of observations made in cistern-mouths and in other places where the rock is visible, the watershed of the mountain has been traced from the north-west corner to a point about two-thirds of the length of the south wall from the south-west corner, where it has a level 2,378 ft. above the sea.

The Sakhrāh or 'rock' standing under the present Dome of the Sakhrāh is the highest point on the ridge south of the scarp already mentioned, having a level 2,440 ft. above the sea.

The eastern slopes of the ridge are the gentlest, and can be traced over the whole area, except towards the north-east, where the present surface is low, and where the rock is neither seen above ground, nor visible in the tanks and vaults. The excavations made by Colonel Warren showed that a valley bed crosses the north-east part of the enclosure, at a depth of 160 ft. below the Sakhrāh.

The western slopes are less easily determined; but the observations obtained all indicate a steeper dip than on the east. The rock at the foot of the west wall has been traced on the outer side, and it seems clear that on the interior it must fall with a continuous slope; first, because the wall would not have been built at the bottom of a cliff if it could have stood on the top; secondly, because no traces of rock are found in the passages leading from the wall eastwards; and, thirdly, because the angle of the slope observed in two or three cases points to the foot of the rampart walls.

The Sakhrāh, or (Holy) Rock, is a ledge of natural limestone, having a scarp 4 feet 9 inches high on the west, and falling eastwards with a dip of 12° . The western scarp is in three steps, the lowest measuring $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. Its general direction is due north and south, and its length is about 39 feet. The mean breadth of the Sakhrāh is about 40 feet, and its area is thus 1,600 square feet or rather less. A cave, entered from the south-east, and occupying an area of about 500 square feet, exists under the south-east portion of the rock. The cave is from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and a shaft about 3 feet in diameter and 7 feet deep is sunk through the roof from the face of the rock.

The Sakhrāh and the Dome which encloses it stand on a platform of modern construction, having an area of about 5 acres, and rising some 15 feet above the ground outside. In the north-west quarter of this platform the rock is visible on the surface; and its general level, including a drop of 12 feet at

one place, is well determined. On the north-east and east the observations show a fall of about 10° . On the south-east the rock is found extending, with a flat surface about 20 feet lower than the top of the Sakhrāh, outside the platform; and it falls rapidly on the south-west, where no traces are visible in the vaults which support the platform.

The general result of these measurements is that the ridge of the hill is found to be both wider and flatter in the neighbourhood of the Sakhrāh and of the platform to the east than in any other part of the enclosure: while the scarps which exist on the north-west indicate some kind of terracing round the Sacred Rock, also traceable, though less distinctly on the other sides, as will be easily seen by consulting the contoured plan.

The rampart walls and the numerous vaults next demand notice. The masonry of the west, south, and east walls is of one character, and the excavations have in every case shown the part examined to extend to the rock and to be apparently *in situ*. The more ancient masonry is of great size, the stones averaging about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, and attaining a length in one instance of 38 feet 9 inches, and in another of 23 feet 8 inches. Each block is surrounded with a sunk channel, or draft, and the face (projecting about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch) is beautifully dressed. The foundation courses are let into the rock, and are generally as well dressed as those near the top of the wall. On the east wall, near the south, letters are painted in red on the face of the stones, and appear to mark the course for which each block was intended.

The drafted masonry has been examined on the west wall close to the rock scarp at the north-west corner of the enclosure, and again about the middle of the wall near the pool called *ei-Burak*. At the south-west corner many shafts were sunk by Colonel Warren to determine the span of the great arch here starting from the wall; and the west pier was also examined. The dressing of the bridge voussoirs is the same as that of the masonry on the walls, and, as it is extremely distinctive, there can be little doubt that the wall and the bridge belong to one building epoch.

The pavement beneath the bridge having been broken through, the fallen voussoirs of a yet older arch were found by Colonel Warren, in a rock-cut channel 20 feet lower down. The masonry of the west and south walls, for about 200 feet from the south-west corner, is roughly dressed up to the pavement level, and it seems therefore probable that the wall, when first built, was not intended to be visible below that level.

The south wall of the enclosure is principally remarkable for a course of double height, extending 600 feet westwards from the south-east corner, and still visible for about 25 feet on the east wall. The bottom of the course is immediately above the rock on the watershed, at a level of 2,378 feet above the sea ; but the course is not built quite horizontally throughout.

The south-west corner of the enclosure is built across the bed of the Tyropœon, and the rough-faced masonry appears to have been intended to fill up the hollow. In the same way a valley runs across the north-east corner of the Haram ; and here again the foundation courses of the wall rising from its bed are roughly faced up to the general level of the ground outside the eastern ramparts. In this latter case, however, the masonry is rougher than in other parts of the enclosure ; the chiselling is less carefully done, and the quality of stone is poorer. The east wall does not terminate at the present north-east corner of the Haram, but runs northwards beyond it without any break. The rough masonry probably extends south as far as the closed gateway called the Golden Gate, where the level of the top course coincides with that of the rock surface.

The rock scarp at the north-west corner of the Haram forms the boundary of the enclosure for 350 feet along the north side. The remainder of the wall to the north-east corner has not been examined by excavation ; but the present face is comparatively modern, and the cisterns immediately within the wall are twelfth-century work. The wall appears, therefore, to be later than the others, and the old north boundary of the enclosure was probably built south of the valley which now crosses the east wall of the Haram.

The masonry standing above the drafted stones has no

interest in connection with the study of the Jewish Temple. It is of two kinds: first, a fine undrafted ashlar, of size inferior to the older work, and dating probably about the sixth century; secondly, a patchwork of later restorations, due to the repeated destruction of the ramparts by earthquake.

The vaults within the walls are of greater interest. Thirty-five of these in all have been examined, and the large majority appear to be ancient. Most of them are excavated in rock, with manholes in the rock roofs, and these were no doubt originally intended for cisterns. One in the north-west corner has a circular flight of rock steps, resembling the ancient cisterns near Mareshah in the lowlands of Judah. The largest is on the south (No. 8 Ordnance Survey), and has many mouths, of which three are now in use. It is 43 feet deep, and has an area of 11,000 square feet. It would therefore hold nearly 3,000,000 gallons of water. The roof is supported by columns of rock.

The most interesting of the rock excavations are, however, those which appear to have been originally passages, and not reservoirs. The south wall has in it two gateways leading to two such passages, which are equidistant respectively from the east and west walls. The gates were originally double, and great lintel stones 25 feet long rest on the piers, and span the openings. On the west wall are two similar passages running eastwards, and the southern one of these leads to a single entrance, now like the others closed. North of the present Dome of the Rock is another passage (No. 1 Ordnance Survey), 130 feet long, running north and south in the same line with the western passage from the south wall. This vault is 40 feet deep, and the north end is blocked by a rude wall, apparently added at a more recent period. The ancient entrance was possibly farther north, where the line of the vault, if produced, intersects the prolongation of another passage (No. 2 Ordnance Survey).

These galleries are mentioned in various passages of the Mishna (Parah 3. 3, Middoth 1. 8, Tamid 1. 1) and it is explained that the sanctity of the courts was supposed to be

secured by the existence of such excavations beneath them. The altar, however, had no hollow place underneath it (*Zebakhim* 58 *a*).

Such briefly enumerated are the principal antiquities of the Haram enclosure. We may now proceed to enquire their relation to the ancient Temple: the first question being that of the situation of the Holy House itself; the second that of the extreme limits of the outer enclosure at various times.

It appears to be certain that the site occupied by Solomon's Temple and Altar was the same as that occupied by the Holy House and Altar in the times of Zerubbabel and of Herod. Josephus states that Zerubbabel built the altar 'on the same place where it had formerly been built,' (*11 Ant.* 4. 1); and 'It is a constant tradition,' says Maimonides, 'that the place in which David and Solomon built the altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah is the place in which Abraham built an altar, and bound upon it Isaac; and it is the place which Noah built when he went out of the Ark; and it is the altar upon which Cain and Abel offered, and upon it the first Adam offered.'

With regard to the exact spot, we have several indications of sufficiently definite character. Josephus says that the Temple was built on a ridge, and that the 'topmost plateau' (such being the exact translation) barely sufficed for the Holy House and the Altar (*5 Wars* 5. 1). It is also evident that the general plan of the Temple courts descending in terraces round the Holy House requires that the Temple and Altar should have been on the top of the hill.

In the Mishna, moreover, we find that the High priest, standing on the summit of the Mount of Olives, 'looked straight into the door of the Sanctuary' (*Middoth* 2. 4). The line was so carefully observed that if the blood of the red heifer was not sprinkled 'straight in front of the door' the sacrifice was unlawful (*Parah* 3. 9; 4. 2). In order to obtain any parallelism between the centre line of the Temple and the outer walls of the enclosure, it is necessary that it should pass through the present Sakhrah or Holy Rock; for such a line, if produced, strikes the summit of Olivet.

It appears thus clear that the Sakhrāh represents the *Eben Shatiyeh* or 'stone of foundation,' which existed in the Holy of Holies (Yoma 5. 2). On that stone the Ark stood, and it was supposed to be the original foundation of the world. The Talmudic commentaries make it clear that the *Eben Shatiyeh* was a rock rather than a stone (like the *Eben Zohemoth*, which is also a rock now called *Zahweileh*): the cave beneath the Sakhrāh may perhaps have been excavated for the reason assigned in the Mishna for the existence of the other vaults, namely, to insure the purity of the surface on which the Ark stood.

Moslem tradition still points to the Sakhrāh as the site of the Temple, and as the foundation of the world; and the same traditions existed in the 12th and 13th centuries. Foucher of Chartres (about 1100 A.D.) says that the Ark was, in his time, supposed to be hidden in the sacred rock, while Jaques de Vitray (1220 A.D.) speaks of it as the place where the angel appeared to David. The *Lapis Pertusus* or 'pierced stone,' which the Jews used to anoint in the 4th century,¹ is also presumably the present Sakhrāh, pierced as it is by a vertical shaft.

Araunah's threshing-floor must have been a level area of some size, situated in a position where even the lightest breezes of summer might be felt; for such is the situation now chosen for a threshing-floor in Palestine. The rock levels show a flat area immediately round the Sakhrāh, suitable for such a purpose, while to the south and north the ridge is narrow and its slopes steeper.

The position, then, of the Holy House, according to the Mishna, to Josephus, and to the Bible (Ezek. 43. 12) was on the 'top of the mountain'; and the mention of the Stone of Foundation in the Mishna (Yoma 5. 2) as projecting three finger-breadths from the floor of the Holy of Holies, gives us a valuable datum 2,440 feet above the sea, to which to refer the levels of the courts.

With regard to the limits of the area enclosed by the rampart walls of the Temple, it is stated by Josephus that a bridge led from the Temple to Agrippa's palace (15 Ant. 11. 5), and this

¹ *Itinerarium Burdigala Hierosolymam*, cap. 4.

bridge was broken down during Pompey's siege (14 Ant. 4. 2.), and repaired by Herod. It is also stated that the Ophel wall 'joined the eastern cloister of the Temple' (5 Wars 4. 2), and that the tower Antonia occupied a rock at the north-west corner of the Temple enclosure (5 Wars 5. 8), and was divided from Bezetha by an artificial trench (14 Ant. 4. 2, 5 Wars 4. 2).

The existence of a ruined bridge at the south-west corner of the Haram; the discovery of the Ophel rampart joining the east Haram wall at the south-east corner, and of a rock scarp with an outer trench at the north-west corner, allow of our identifying these angles of the present Haram enclosure with the corresponding angles of Herod's Temple area.

The north-east corner remains undetermined; but from Josephus we learn that the area in its final condition was approximately a square (6 Wars 5. 4); and a rock scarp of unknown height has been found, running east and west in a line which cuts the point where the change in masonry of the east Haram wall appears to occur, at 1,070 feet from the south-east corner—a length about equal to that of the north wall of the Haram. It is, therefore, probable that this scarp represents the original north boundary of Herod's enclosure, from which the fortress of Antonia projected on the north-west. The east wall with its rougher masonry north of this line may be ascribed to the time of Agrippa, forming part of the Third Wall of Jerusalem.

The existing masonry of the Haram, as already stated, is apparently of the same date with the great bridge, judging from the dressing of the stones. The older fallen voussoir beneath this bridge may probably belong to the viaduct destroyed in Pompey's time; and this seems clearly to indicate that the drafted masonry and the later bridge belong to the time of Herod the Great. The discovery, at the base of the east wall, of letters having the older forms of Hebrew writing might be thought to show that this wall was the work of Solomon, but on the other hand, the Aramaic character was in use as late as the time of Herod.

The area enclosed by Herod was double that of Solomon's Temple, and the outer cloisters were rebuilt by him from their foundations (1 Wars 21. 1). The original eastern wall and cloister were built by Solomon, probably on the present line; and other kings gradually enlarged the plateau by adding banks of earth (5 Wars 5. 1). The north wall of Solomon's time was broken down at a later period, and an additional area included on that side. By the time of Pompey, the west wall appears to have stood on the same site with that of Herod's western rampart, judging from the remains of the two bridges, one above the other. That this wall was of comparatively late date is indicated by the fact that it cuts across an ancient aqueduct intersecting it in two places. (See Chap. VII., p. 358) It seems, therefore, that the east wall with its Aramaic letters—joined as it is to the Ophel rampart reconstructed by Nehemiah—may be the oldest part of the enclosure.

Such indications of the limits of the area are more reliable than the measurements recorded by ancient writers. The corners of the Temple enclosure are determined by the existence at the present time of buildings described in corresponding positions by Josephus. The area is thus seen to have been a rough approach to a square, the east wall 1,070 ft. long, the south 922, the north 1,000, and the west 1,150 ft., measuring outside.

The question whether the measurements given by Josephus for the Temple area are to be considered accurate is one quite apart from that of the reliability of his general description. While the appearance and general arrangement of the sacred buildings would remain stamped on the mind of anyone who had once seen them, the estimated dimensions written down in Rome twenty-three years after the destruction of Jerusalem could scarcely fail to be inaccurate unless they represented actual measurements taken by Josephus and preserved in his notes.

He does not claim, however, any such minute accuracy, and he estimates the area roughly as being a square of one stadium (about 600 ft.) side (15 Ant. 11. 3). The south cloister, however, ran 'from the east valley to that on the west, for it was

impossible it should reach any farther' (sect. 5). It extended from the Ophel Wall to the Tyropœon Bridge—a distance of 922 ft.—but it is nevertheless estimated by Josephus to have been only a stadium in length.

When we proceed to consider other measurements noticed by the same author, the inaccuracy of his statements is further made clear. In one passage (5 Wars 5. 6) he makes the altar to have been 50 cubits square—a dimension impossible, because greater than the total width of the altar court—and in another he gives the size at 20 cubits square (*Contra Apion* 1. 22); in the first case he makes the height 15 cubits; in the second he agrees with the Mishna, and gives it as 10 cubits. The other measurements do not in either case agree with those of the tract Middoth.

A considerable exaggeration also appears to occur in his estimate of the height of the eastern wall, to which he gives a maximum of over 300 cubits (5 Wars 5. 1), whereas even the bottom of the Kedron Valley was only 270 ft. below the top of the Temple wall. In other passages (8 Ant. 3. 9; 20. 9. 7) he gives a yet higher estimate of 400 cubits for this height.

The dimensions of the Temple stones are also greatly exaggerated by Josephus. In one account he makes them 40 cubits long, or nearly twice the length of the longest known to exist (5 Wars 5. 1); in a second, he gives the length at 20 cubits, but the height at 6 cubits (20 Ant. 9. 7), which is greater even than that of the stones in the master course.

Inconsistency, inaccuracy, and exaggeration are thus plainly discoverable in the measurements given by Josephus. In some cases he agrees with the Mishna, as, for instance, respecting the height of the wall of separation in the Priests' Court, that of the Temple foundation, the lengths of the Holy House and Oracle, the total height of the Temple façade, and the number of steps to Nicanor, and to the Great Gate of the House itself. In other instances, the measurements of Josephus do not agree with the Talmud; notably in the case of the Altar, and also with respect to the dimensions of the Temple door, the

width of the Holy House, the number of steps to the Women's Court, and the height of the outer partition wall.

It is not too much to say that wherever the Mishna is not in accord with Josephus, the measurements of the latter are untrustworthy. The writers of the Mishna made a special study of the Temple measurements; they calculated the height of the Altar by a most complicated series of dimensions, and the various results agree to a handbreadth. They are careful to notice the height and width of every step, the thickness of the walls, and the main architectural details. They quote the recollections of men who served as Levites in Herod's Temple, and their descriptions are so systematic that we have no difficulty in constructing a block plan from their measurements. The general description of Josephus agrees with the general description of the Mishna; but the accuracy of the latter in matters of detail and of measurement is far beyond that of the Jewish historian writing in Rome.

The Mishna, unfortunately, refers only to the Temple of Herod. 'The building which Solomon built,' says Maimonides, 'has been already described in the Book of Kings, and the building to be built in the future, although it is written in Ezekiel, is not fully described and explained. The men of the second house (which they built in the days of Ezra) built it like the building of Solomon, and in some things like the explanation of Ezekiel.'

The Biblical accounts of Solomon's Temple give only the measurements of the Holy House itself, which was divided into the Temple (Hecal), the Oracle (Debir or 'back'), and the Porch (Aulam), with the surrounding chambers (Yetzua), of which there were three tiers, and the total number of which was thirty according to Josephus (8 Ant. 3. 2).

The plan measurements given in the two accounts (1 Kings 6; 2 Chron. 3) do not appear to include the thickness of the walls; and the size of the original Temple was probably the same as that of Herod's, the dimensions being double those of the Tabernacle. As regards the height, we have various accounts. In the 1st Book of Kings it is given as 30 cubits;

in Chronicles as 120 ; Josephus divides it into two storeys of 60 cubits ; and the total height of the three tiers of chambers was 15 cubits. In later times it was intended to add 20 cubits to the height of Herod's Temple, in order to give the full height believed to have been that of Solomon's (see 5 Wars 1. 5). A building only 40 cubits wide at most can, however, scarcely have been 120 cubits high, and the description in the 1st Book of Kings, giving 30 cubits for the main building and 15 for the chambers, seems the most reliable, unless, indeed, a larger pylone was raised in front as some have supposed, after the fashion of an Egyptian Temple.

The courts (Hazereth) of the original Temple appear to have been two in number. The Court of the Priests was surrounded by a partition wall called Gison (7 Ant. 3. 9). The outer or great court (1 Kings 7. 12) was a quadrangle. On the east outside this was a cloister founded on a bank retained by the rampart wall : there were no cloisters on the other sides, nor was the surface banked up to a level, except on the east (5 Wars 5. 1).

We may conjecture that the courts were originally double the dimensions of the Court of the Tabernacle ; but beyond the measurements above noticed, we know nothing of Solomon's Temple. The second Temple erected by Zerubbabel was, according to Josephus, only half the height of Solomon's—60 cubits (15 Ant. 11. 1), and it appears to have been in every respect inferior to the first building (Ezra 3. 12 ; 11 Ant. 4. 2). Hecateus of Abdera gives the dimensions of the courts as 500 ft. in length, and 100 cubits in breadth (double the width of the Court of the Tabernacle), and the size of the altar as 20 cubits square and 10 cubits high. Hecateus lived about 150 B.C., so that it is evidently to the Second Temple that he refers. (See Josephus contra Apion, 1. 22).

The descriptions of the Third Temple built by Herod are far more complete. The Talmudists generally call this also the Second Temple, because the work of Zerubbabel was enlarged and perfected by Herod ; but Josephus says that the old foundations were taken away (15 Ant. 11. 3), and that the area was considerably enlarged. The general dimensions of the courts and

their respective levels may now be noticed, and the details of the various buildings in the sacred area will then be discussed.

'The Mountain of the House,' says the Mishna (Middoth 2. 1), 'was 500 cubits by 500.' It is, therefore, first necessary to define the length of the cubit used in the Third Temple.

Rabbi Mayer (Kelim 17. 9) says that all the cubits of the sanctuary were medium cubits, except those of the Golden Altar and the circuit and foundation (of the great Altar). Rabbi Judah said 'the cubit of the building was six handbreadths, and that of the vessels five' (Tal. Jer. Menakoth 97 a). Two standard examples of the two cubits in question were preserved at the gate Shushan (Kelim 17. 9). The cubit in the following pages is taken as being 16 inches (see Part I. Chap. III. p. 58).

It appears probable that the area of 500 cubits side mentioned in Middoth was that of the Temple within the Soreg, or wall of partition which separated Jew and Gentile.

'The mountain,' says Abarbanel, 'was indeed much larger than 500 cubits would contain either way, but outside this the sanctity did not extend.' The '500 by 500' mentioned in Ezekiel (42. 20) coincided with the 'separation between the sanctuary and the profane place' (compare Rev. 11. 2). In the LXX. Version this measurement is given as 500 *cubits*, but in the Hebrew no unit is mentioned.

According to the Mishna the Holy House was not set in the middle of the area, which was 500 cubits square. The greatest space was on the south, the least on the west. The Tosephoth Yom Tob (a work of the twelfth century) gives the exact measurements in two directions as follows:—

<i>Section North and South.</i>		<i>Section East and West.</i>	
	Cubits		Cubit
Northern outer space .	. 115	Western outer space .	. 100
Width of court . .	. 135	Length of court. .	. 187
Southern outer space .	. 250	Eastern outer space .	. 213
	<u>500</u>		<u>500</u>

The authority of these measurements is not, however, given, though it is very improbable that so definite a statement should be a mere guess without ancient authority.

The outer cloisters, which ran along the ramparts of the Temple hill, were double according to Josephus, and 30 cubits in width (5 Wars. 5. 2). In the Talmud they are also said to have been double (Tal. Bab. Beracoth 33 b). The booths of the money changers (Hanaioth) were set up in these covered arcades (Shekalim 1. 5; Matt. 21. 12).

The Royal Cloister on the south side was triple, with 162 pillars (15 Ant. 11. 5). The *epistylia* must consequently have had a length of about 22 feet; but there is no difficulty in supposing so great a span as the existing lintel-stones above the ancient entrance-gates measure 25 feet. The pillars could hardly be spanned by three men, and two shafts of dimensions which accord with this account (being about 6 feet in diameter) still exist—one in the vaulted chamber at the Double Gate, still supporting a roof which was probably erected by Herod; the other, half buried, outside Jerusalem: the latter is 41 feet long. It appears, therefore, that the pillars of the Royal Cloister had an intercolumniation of $2\frac{1}{2}$ diameters. The width of the Royal Cloister was 105 feet, the nave being 45 feet broad. These dimensions agree very closely with the position and width of the Tyropœon bridge, which led to the nave. The side walks were 50 feet high, the nave 100 feet. Josephus uses the Greek foot, instead of the cubit, in giving these dimensions.

The Mishna gives only five gates to the great enclosure, of which the two on the south, called Huldah, or 'mole gates,' were no doubt the two gates with subterranean passages already noticed, on the south wall of the Haram. The western of these—now called the Double Gate—has an inner porch, roofed with four domes, supported by two monoliths. The porch measures 40 feet (30 cubits) in width, and the roof is ornamented with vine tracery, cut in low relief, and is attributed by Mr. Ferguson, the well-known architect, to the time of Herod. The eastern portal is now triple, but only partly ancient, and appears to have been also originally double, as is the passage which leads from it. The lintel stones of the gate have disappeared, and are replaced by arches. The roof within is also comparatively modern.

The gate Shushan opposite the Holy House on the east rampart wall, has not been yet recovered, and the site of the northern gate called Tadi ('obscurity,') which was apparently subterranean, is also unknown. The Arabic name of a gate in the present north wall of the Haram (Bab Hitta) preserves the meaning of the name 'obscurity,' but Tadi seems more probably to have been situated at the point where the two long passages north of the Sakhrāh (already described) would meet if produced beyond the massive walls which now close their northern ends.

One gate only is noticed by the Mishna in the west rampart wall, and is called Kipunus, or 'descent.' Respecting its position, we must bear in mind that 'they did not make two gates opposite one another' (Tal. Jer. Beracoth 54). Josephus (15 Ant. 11. 5) mentions four gates on this side, one at the bridge (possibly the 'Beautiful Gate,' Acts 3. 2), two others leading to the suburbs, or *Proasteion*, and one, with steps, leading to the 'other city.'

It has been shown already that two passages pierce the west Haram wall north of the bridge; and the position of the fourth gate may perhaps be indicated by the name Bâb el-Hadîd, 'iron gate,' preserving that of the gate leading from Antonia to the city (Acts 12. 10). Which of these gates is to be identified with Kipunus it is not now possible to say.

The arrangements and the levels of the inner Temple courts have often been described; but the comparison with the existing levels of the rock has only lately been studied. The plan measurements given in Middoth are as follows (Midd. 5. 1):—

Measurement East and West.

	Cubits
Chel (outer rampart or terrace)	10
Court of the Women	135
Standing place of Israel	11
Standing place of the Priests	11
The Altar	32
Steps to the Temple	22
The Temple	100
Space behind the Temple	11
Total	<u>332</u>

Measurement North and South.

	Cubits
The ascent and the Altar	62
From the Altar to the rings	8
The rings	24
From the rings to the tables	4
From the tables to the dwarf columns	4
From the dwarf columns to the wall	8
Between the ascent and the south wall	25
Total	135

As regards the levels of the courts, we have the important statement that the steps were all half a cubit (8 inches) high (Middoth 2. 3); and taking for a datum the level of the floor of the Temple (2,440 feet above the Mediterranean) as already determined, we thus obtain the actual level of the courts with exactitude, as below :—

	Steps	Cubits	Feet	Level
Outer Court	0	0	0	2,411
Court of the Women	12	6	8	2,419
Court of Israel	15	7½	10	2,429
Court of the Priests	0	2½	3	2,432
Temple floor	12	6	8	2,440
Total	—	22	29	—

The ground outside the limits of the courts was apparently uneven. Josephus says that the gates north and south of the Priests' Court had only 10 steps, while that on the east had 15. In this case the ground north and south had a level about 2,425 feet above the Mediterranean. Josephus explains that the cloisters being built on the hill slope, the height appeared greater outside than in (5 Wars 5. 2), but the difference which he gives (15 cubits) appears to be too great.

The existing levels of the rock round the Sakhrah agree with most remarkable accuracy with those above determined, as will be seen by consulting the plan.

An observation which comes within the limits of the Temple

itself gives a level 2,432, equal to that of the Priests' Court, thus allowing a solid masonry foundation of 6 cubits for the Holy House, as described by Josephus (5 Wars 5. 5). The present surface of the platform is slightly higher (2,435), but the rubbish and flagging occupy about 3 feet where visible in one of the vaults. Outside the platform the rock is visible on the north-east and south-east, at levels 2,420 and 2,419, the latter being exactly the level of the Court of Women, which occupied this part of the enclosure. Farther east the level is 2,409 and 2,406 in the very part where the descent of 8 feet should occur from the Women's Court to the outer part of the enclosure. North and south of the Priests' Court the rock has a level 2,427 and 2,425, thus allowing for 10 steps, instead of 15. These coincidences are too numerous to be merely accidental; and the determination of the general levels of the present surface together with the fact that vaults exist on the south and west sides of the platform, and on the east in that part where the old level was lower than that of the present pavement, render it improbable that the results already obtained should be liable to contradiction by further exploration. The exactness with which the levels deduced from the Middoth fit the ground shows that the determination already obtained by independent means of the exact position of the Holy House in the present Haram enclosure must be correct.

We may now consider the various details of the plan of the Temple and its courts included within the Soreg, or boundary dividing Jew and Gentile.

The Soreg was a wall 10 palms high, with 13 openings. The word means 'interwoven,' according to Buxtorf. Square pillars were erected at intervals above this barrier, with inscriptions in Greek forbidding strangers to enter. One of these inscriptions was found in a building north of the Haram, and the Soreg in this Greek text receives the name Druphax, by which Josephus also designates it (5 Wars 5. 2). The recovered inscription threatens death to the intruder.

The Chel (or Hîl) was a terrace above the first steps outside the cloisters of the Sacred Courts. The word comes from a

root meaning 'to surround.' It is the same word rendered 'profane place' in Ezekiel (42. 20). The Chel was 10 cubits wide, and the 12 steps had a rise of 6 cubits. The Chel is mentioned on the east and north, and probably existed on the other sides; but it is not certain whether the width was the same on all sides, and the existence of what appears to be the foundation of a gate at the level, 2,419 (that of the Women's Court), south of the present platform, seems to indicate a greater width for the Chel on the south. This is, however, an undetermined question.

The Court of the Women was so called, not because exclusively set apart for their use, but because they were not allowed to enter into any enclosure nearer the Temple (Kelim 1. 8, cf. Contra Apion 2. 8). The Court measured 135 by 135 cubits. The women had a gallery above the cloister (Succah 5. 2, Comments of Maimonides). Josephus agrees with the Mishna in making this court 'four square' (5 Wars 5. 2), and states that the cloisters surrounding it were 10 cubits broad. The gallery (*Citzutzra*) was erected at a late period 'that the women might look from above, but the men from below, lest they should be mixed' (Middoth 2. 5). The court was at first occupied by both sexes, and the crowding at the Feast of Tabernacles originated the change. There were four chambers (Lishcoth) in this court (compare Ezek. 46. 21):—

- | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|------|--------------------|
| 1. | The chamber for the Nazarites | . | . | . | in the S.E. corner |
| 2. | " | for picking wood for the Altar | " | N.E. | " |
| 3. | " | for lepers | . | . | " N.W. " |
| 4. | " | for oil | . | . | " S.W. " |

These appear to have been 40 cubits square, and were open above, having no roofs.

The great eastern gate of this court was the largest in the Temple (15 Ant. 11. c, 5 Wars 5. 2, 6. 5. 3), and was covered with gold. Josephus makes it 50 cubits high and 40 broad. There were also two gates, one on the north, the other on the south side of this court (5 Wars 5. 2).

The Court of Israel was reached by 15 steps from that of

the Women. The flight was circular, 'like half a threshing-floor' (Midd. 2. 5). The fifteen songs of degrees (Psalms 120—134 inclusive) were sung on the steps. The gate Nicanor stood above these steps (Maimonides, Beth Habbech 5. 5, and Midd. 1. 4), named from its donor, and made of Corinthian brass. Beneath the Court of Israel were vaults opening to the Women's Court, and these were necessitated by the slope of the rock, which had a level, in this part, only slightly higher than the floor of the Court of the Women (see Midd. 2. 6). The musical instruments were kept here.

The Court of Israel was merely a platform measuring 10 cubits east and west by 135 north and south. Only men specially purified might enter into this enclosure (Contra Apion 2. 8), and the sanctity was considered intermediate between that of the two courts between which it was placed (Kelim 1. 8). This enclosure was appropriated to the 'standing men,' or representatives of Israel, who visited Jerusalem with each order of priests, and like the Batlanim of the Synagogue worship formed a representative congregation at every Temple service during the week of their visit to the capital (Taanith 4. 2). For this reason it is called in another passage (Midd. 5. 1) 'the place of the footing,' or the standing place of Israel.

The Court of Israel, thus devoted to the representatives of all Israel, had probably no cloister or columns, for they would have obscured the public view of the Temple service. There was, however, a chamber on either side of the gate Nicanor.

The Court of the Priests (also called Kodesh or Sanctuary) was $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits above the last, the wall being 1 cubit high, with 3 steps above it. A balustrade or pulpit of wood (called Docan) appears to have stood on the wall, whence the priests blessed the people (see Neh. 8. 4, Midd. 2. 6, Tal. Jer. Sotah 38 b). The same name Docan is given in modern Synagogues to the bench whence the blessing is pronounced. There was, therefore, no direct communication between the Court of Israel and that of the Priests, which was shut off by the wall, 16 inches high, called Shopeth, or in Greek Thrigcos, which separated people and priests (5 Wars 5. 6). The priests were, however, able to

enter the lower court apparently through the side chambers of the gate Nicanor (Succah 5. 4).

The Court of the Priests measured 135 cubits north and south, and 176 cubits east and west. It had three gates on the north, three on the south, and one on the east. The northern and southern had 'steps of five cubits' (5 Wars 5. 2), leading up from the Chel.

The names of these gates, given in the Middoth, are as below (Middoth 1. 4), making a total of ten gates for the courts within the Soreg (cf. 5 Wars 5. 1):—

1. S.W. gate Dalak ('flaming')
2. S. „ Corban ('gift')
3. S.E. „ Mim ('water')
4. E. „ Nicanor
5. N.E. „ Nitzotz ('prominence')
6. N. „ —
7. N.W. „ Moked ('hearth')

The lintels of all the gates were flat, except in the case of Tadi, where two blocks, laid against one another, formed a kind of triangular pediment—an arrangement also found in gateways of the Galilean synagogues built in the second century A.D. (see Middoth 2. 3).

The general dimensions of these entrances given by Josephus (5 Wars 5. 3) are 30 cubits high, with doors 15 cubits broad, and towers of 40 cubits above. The chambers were supported on pillars, 12 cubits in circumference. These gate-houses were therefore of the same size with the Huldah Gates, which have been already described as 30 cubits (40 ft.) wide, and with pillars of about 16 ft. or more (12 cubits) in circumference.

The gate-house Moked was, however, apparently still larger, and projected beyond the line of the cloister wall, half its width being outside and half inside the Priests' Court. This building was the guard-house of the priests who kept watch round the fire, whence its name was derived. According to Bartenora it would seem to have had no steps, the ground outside being presumably higher than in other parts of the enclosure. Four chambers opened into the central porch or

Teraklin, two being within the Kodesh, or Sanctuary, two in the Chel or 'profane place.' The roofs were vaulted, and stone benches ran round the walls. In the south-west chamber the lamb for the daily sacrifice was kept during the night. The north-west chamber had in it a winding stair descending to a vault beneath, which ran under the Chel to the gate Tadi. This gallery communicated with a Bath-house used by the priests, and is mentioned as running under the Bireh, by which some commentators understand Baris or Antonia to be intended.

The gallery thus described seems clearly to be the existing vault which runs northwards from the wall of the Priests' Court, according to the present restoration of the Temple. We are thus able to fix the exact position of Moked; but the winding stair appears to have been destroyed, the vault having now no entrance, except a manhole in the roof.

The north end of the gallery (No. 1 Ordnance Survey) is now blocked by a rude wall, but the roof is seen to run behind this wall, and the gallery seems probably to extend farther. If it reaches as far as the present north wall of the platform, its entrance from Tadi at that point would require only a rise of 17 ft., whereas at the south end the floor is 50 ft. below the present surface. The curious vault west of this gallery (No. 3) is also closed with a modern wall, and very possibly runs farther north, in which case it would join No. 1, and might be identified with the Bath-house reached by the subterranean passage from Moked. The supposition that portions of these galleries still remain to be discovered is confirmed by the fact that a wall has been built across the passage leading from the ancient western gate just north of the Tyropæon Bridge in a precisely similar manner, and by the fact that the sides of the galleries Nos. 1 and 3 are of rock, while the walls at the north ends are apparently of masonry down to the floor of the vaults, and are not at right angles to the lines of the galleries; in No. 1, as already stated, the voussoirs of the roof run apparently beyond the wall.

The identification of the gallery under Moked thus gives additional confirmation to the general correctness of the present restoration of Herod's Temple.

The name of the gate Nitzotz indicates that it was also a kind of outstanding tower in the north-east corner of the Priests' Court. The Mishna states that it was 'in shape an exhedra,' with a building above and with an entrance to the Chel. We may, perhaps, identify this gate-house with the 'northern exhedra' mentioned by Josephus (6 Wars 2. 7). In another passage (Tamid 1. 3) 'eastern and western exhedræ' are noticed on either side of Moked.

The Water Gate was so named because the water used at the Feast of Tabernacles was brought through it (Succah 6. 4). There were no cisterns within the court, and the altar was 'joined to the earth,' having no excavation under it. The present plan places the Court of the Priests in such a situation that none of the numerous cisterns of the Haram area come within its boundaries.

Above the Water Gate was a chamber called Aphtinas (Tal. Jer. Yoma 1), where the incense was made. There were also three chambers north of the Court and three south, resembling perhaps the little vaults under the present platform which open to the outer court, for their roofs are said to have been level (Middoth 5. 2), probably meaning level with the floor of the Priests' Court. Two other chambers (Lishcoth) also existed on the west. The most important of these magazines or stores in which wood, salt, and other necessities were kept, were two. First, the Chamber of Hewn Stone (Gazith), or of Pavement (Balutin, Tosiphtah, Yoma 1), where the Sanhedrin sat. It was on the south, and, according to Maimonides, near the west, half in the Holy Place, half in the profane (Tal. Jer. Yoma 25 b). Secondly, the Chamber of the Draw Well, whence water was supplied to the whole court. This was next to the preceding, on the south side of the Sanctuary, and its position is no doubt fixed by the well-mouth communicating with the great vault, which runs to the south wall of the Priests' Court. This second indication on the south thus agrees perfectly with that already noticed respecting the position of Moked on the north.

The Altar is very minutely described, being the most important feature of the Sanctuary. It was made solid, and con-

sisted of stones dug from virgin earth found near Beth Cerem (Middoth 3. 4). Stones from the seaside were also permissible, and these were poured into a wooden frame and mixed with lime, pitch, and lead, the frame being withdrawn when the building was complete (Beth Habbecch 1). In other words, the Altar was made of a kind of concrete.

It was whitewashed at intervals, and a line of red paint was drawn round it, at a height of 29 handbreadths from the bottom. The appearance of this structure must, therefore, have been much ruder than that of the usual representations.

The Foundation of the Altar measured 32 cubits north and west, and was 1 cubit wide and high. On the south and east, this lowest step was wanting. The Circuit, a square of 28 cubits, was 5 cubits high, and was the place where the priests stood during the service. The third step was 3 cubits high and 26 cubits square. The horns were cubes of 1 cubit. The Hearth between the horns was only 24 cubits square, leaving a path between it and the horns 1 cubit wide for the priests. Three fires were lighted on the Altar, and the path between the horns were used in making them up. The Circuit and Foundation are said to have been measured by small cubits of 5 handbreadths, and we thus obtain the following total of 58 handbreadths, or 10 cubits, which is said to have been also the height of Solomon's Altar :—

Cubits		Hand-breadths
1	Foundation	. 5
5	Circuit	. 30
3	Place of horns	. 18
1	Horns	. 5
<hr/> Total 10		<hr/> Total 58

The red line was thus in the middle of the height.

The sloping ascent (Cebesh), on the south side of the Altar, was 30 cubits long, and led up to the hearth or 9 cubits in height. It was 16 cubits wide. A side ascent led from it to the Foundation on the left, and another to the right led to the Circuit. A brass netting covered the upper part of the Altar to the red

line (Tal. Jer. Zebakhim 62 a). The ascent did not join the Altar, but had a small division to insure the throwing of the limbs on to the altar (Tamid 8. 3). In the ascent was a cupboard, where certain portions of the offerings were placed. Between the horns of the Altar was a parapet, and in the Foundation on the west were small holes communicating with canals, which conducted the blood to the drains which ran out to Kedron (Middoth 3. 2, Yoma 5. 6, Succah 4. 9). On the south-west was a manhole, by which to descend into this canal.

The tables, rings, and dwarf pillars north of the Altar, were used in the preparation of the sacrifices. To the west of the ascent was the Laver and the spouts made by Ben Kattin.

The Temple (Hecal). The plan of the Temple itself is thus given by the Mishna:—

West to East.

	Cubits
Aulam or porch { wall . . .	5
porch . . .	11
wall . . .	6
Hecal, or Holy Place . . .	40
Teraklin (interval) . . .	1
Kodesh ha-Kodeshim (Holy of Holies)	20
Wall	6
Chamber (Tha)	6
Wall	5
Total	100

North and South.

Wall	5
Staircase (Masiba)	3
Wall	5
Chamber (Tha)	6
Wall	6
Holy Place	20
Wall	6
Chamber	6
Wall	5
House of descent of water	3
Wall	5
Total	70

The façade of the Temple was a square of 100 cubits, the Aulam extending north and south a total width of 15 cubits beyond the body of the Temple on either side. The façade was gilded.

The entrance (Phatakh) of the Temple was 20 cubits wide and 40 high. The only ornamentation consisted of 5 oak beams above, each 2 cubits longer than the one immediately below, the lowest being 22 cubits long, the topmost 30 cubits. Each beam was built alternately with a course of stone.

The Golden Vine which was fixed over this entrance (Mid-doth 3. s), but, as Josephus says, 'under the crown work' (15 Ant. 11. 3), was very probably supported by nails driven into these beams. It is clear that the vine was not a bas-relief, as has sometimes been conjectured, because bunches could be given as votive offerings, and were then hung on to the golden stem (Midd. 3. s.)

The crown work appears to have been a cornice more specially noticed in the Mishna.

The elevation of the Temple was as follows :—

	Cubits
Foundation	6
Lower storey	40
String course	1
Gutter ('house of dropping')	2
Beams	1
Plaster	1
Upper storey	40
String course	1
Gutter	2
Beams	1
Plaster	1
Battlement	3
Scarecrow	1
Total	100

The upper storey had no small chambers (Thaim), but there were 38 in three tiers round the lower storey, 15 to the north, 15 to the south, and 8 on the west, reached by a staircase on the north side of the Temple (Middoth 4. 5) These chambers,

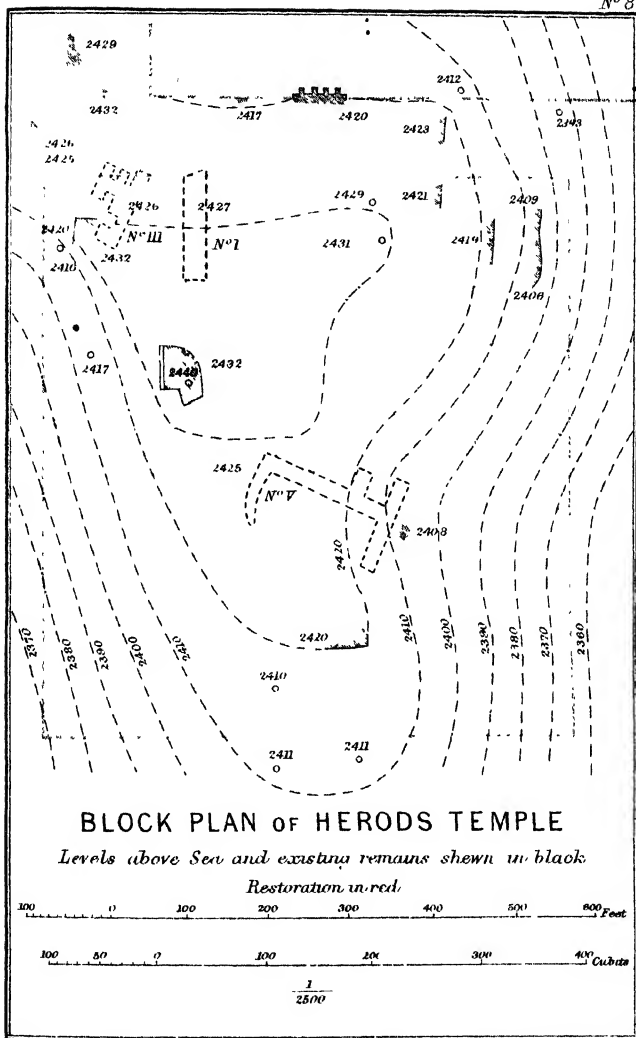
like those of Solomon's Temple, were 5 cubits wide in the lowest tier, 6 in the second, 7 in the third, the outer walls being reduced in thickness apparently by stepping back on the interior.

The Holy House was entered from the porch by a gate 20 cubits high, 10 cubits broad. The doors were double, opening inwards and outwards. An entrance from the porch into the side chambers communicated with another in the wall between the inner and outer doors of this gate, which had also two wickets in it (Middoth 4. 2, cf. 5 Wars 5. 4). A veil hung before this gate of equal dimensions with its doors.

The entrance into the Holy of Holies was passed only by the High priest. There was here a double veil (see Part I., p. 123). The space of 1 cubit between these two veils is called Teraklin in the Middoth (4. 7).

Such are the details preserved of the arrangement and dimensions of the Temple. There are still points not capable of determination, such as the level of the ceiling of the Holy of Holies, which had a second storey above it (Middoth 4 5); but we have no authority for adding to this simple record any fanciful details of architectural ornamentation. Had the Temple been beautified by cornices, pillars, or mouldings of rich appearance, those writers who have so carefully described its minutest details of construction would scarcely have failed to record anything which could increase the reader's conception of the magnificence of this loved and venerated edifice.

The allusions to the Second Temple in the New Testament are few and not very important. The scene of the Purification must have been the gate Nicanor, to which Jewish women were brought for that ceremony. The Doctors of the Law are mentioned as sitting on the steps of the Temple Courts (Tal. Jer. Sanhed. 2. 2) to teach their disciples, and it was no doubt in the precincts of the court devoted to the Jewish congregation that Christ was found by his parents 'hearing them and asking them questions' (Luke 2. 46). The booths of the money-changers set up in the cloisters of the Gentile Court are also—as before noticed—mentioned in the Mishna (Shekalim 1. 5, Matt. 21. 12).



Solomon's Porch, we gather from Josephus (5 Wars 5. 1), was the eastern cloister of the Outer Court. The Beautiful Gate (Acts 3. 2), where the cripple was cured by St. Peter, was in all probability the entrance from the Tyropœon Bridge to the beautiful southern cloister built by Herod.

Antonia, the castle or fortress which protected the Temple on the north, alone remains to be noticed. It seems probable that the 'Birah which (belonged) to the (Holy) House' (Neh. 2. 8), and the Birah of the Mishna, which seems to have been a place north of the Temple (Middoth 1. 8), is the same as the Baris or 'Castle' of Josephus (1 Wars 3. 3). This fortress, arranged by John Hyrcanus for a residence (18 Ant. 4. 3), was enlarged by Herod. It was situate at the north-west corner of the outer cloisters (5 Wars 5. 8), and had four distinct towers with a large interior space.

A deep ditch divided *Antonia* from *Bezetha* (5 Wars 4. 2), and the view of the Temple from the north was concealed by this fortress. A hidden passage led from *Antonia* to the Temple (15 Ant. 11. 7), and the entire compass of the Temple was increased two furlongs by *Antonia* (5 Wars 5. 2). It seems clear from another passage that the fortress formed a projection on the north-west beyond the limits of the quadrangle of the Temple cloisters (6 Wars 5. 4).

The general result is such as to leave little doubt that the fortress occupied the great scarp at the north-west corner of the present Haram, and the broad interior space noticed by Josephus may naturally be identified with the flat court immediately below this scarp on the south. It would, however, be of the highest interest to discover the foundations of the corner towers, the exact position of which cannot now be indicated with certitude. Excavation in the northern portion of the Haram enclosure would probably result in important discoveries respecting the extent and shape of the citadel of *Antonia*, but this is unfortunately at present impossible.

It is beyond the scope of this work to pursue the account of the Temple into greater detail, or to notice any of the numerous

former attempts to restore the sacred buildings here described. With the aid of the plan, the reader will be able to judge for himself of the satisfactory manner in which the relative position of various buildings may be determined, by careful observation of the levels, scarps, and existing remains, and in strict accordance with the most authentic accounts of the structure.

Note.—It is worthy of notice that the actual measurement of the existing remains of the Temple enclosure affords strong confirmation of the determination of the medium cubit at 16 inches (see p. 58).

The piers at the N.W. corner of the Haram wall are at 13 ft. 4 in. interval, or exactly 10 cubits. The width of the southern passages is 40 ft. or 30 cubits, agreeing with the size of the Temple gates according to Josephus (5 Wars 5. 3). The height of the Master Course on the south wall is 6 ft. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits). The longest stone is 38 ft. 9 in. or 29 cubits. Other stones 7 cubits, $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits long occur in the walls, and the average height of the courses is 3 ft. 4 in. ($2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits). At the Prophets' Gate the lintel is 5 cubits high and 19 cubits long.

The levels give the same result as do the measurements of Galilean Synagogues.

LIST OF TOWNS OF JUDAH AND BENJAMIN.

JUDAH (Josh. 15. 21-32).

IN EDOM.

Hebrew	Arabic	Hebrew	Arabic
1. Kabzeel	'Ad'adah	19. Beth Palet	<i>Bir es-Seb'a</i>
2. Eder (Adar)		20. Hazar Shual	
3. Jagur		21. Beersheba	
4. Kinah		22. Bizjothjah	
5. Dimonah		23. Baalah	
6. Adadah		— Iim	
7. Kedesh		24. Azem	
8. Hazor		25. Eltolad	
9. Ithnan Ziph		26. Chesil	
10. Telem		27. Hormah	
11. Bealoth	<i>Hudireh</i>	28. Ziklag	{ <i>Umm er-Rumâmîn</i>
12. Hazor Hadattah		29. Madmannah	
13. Kerioth Hezron		30. Sansannah	
14. Anam		31. Lebaoth	
15. Shema		32. Shilhim	
16. Moladah		33. Ain Rimmon	
17. Hazar Gaddah			
18. Heshmon			

IN THE SHEPHELAH.

Hebrew	Arabic	Hebrew	Arabic
1. Eshtaol	<i>Eshû'a</i>	11. Azekah	<i>S'aireh</i>
2. Zoreah	<i>Sur'ah</i>	12. Sharsim	
3. Ashnah		13. Adithaim	
4. Zanoah	<i>Zanû'a</i>	14. Gederah and Gederothaim	{ <i>Jedireh</i>
5. En Gannim	<i>Umm Jina</i>		
6. Tappuah		1. Zenan	
7. Enam	<i>'Allin</i>	2. Hadashah	
8. Jarmuth	<i>el-Yermûk</i>	3. Migdalgad	
9. Adullam	<i>'Aid el-Mâ</i>	4. Dilean	
10. Socoh	<i>Shuweikeh</i>		

LIST OF TOWNS—continued.

Hebrew	Arabic	Hebrew	Arabic
5. Mizpeh	<i>Kutlāneh</i>	1. Libnah	<i>el-'Atr</i>
6. Joktheel		2. Ether	
7. Lachish		3. Ashan	
8. Bozkath		4. Jiphtah	
9. Eglon	<i>'Ajlán</i>	5. Ashnah	<i>Beit Nusib</i> <i>Kilah</i> <i>'Ain Kezbeh</i> <i>Mer'ash</i>
10. Cabbon		6. Nezib	
11. Lahmam	<i>el-Lahm</i>	7. Keilah	
12. Kithlish	<i>Katrah</i>	8. Achzib	
13. Gederoth		9. Mareshah	<i>'Aker</i> <i>Esdūd</i> <i>Ghazze</i>
14. Beth Dagon	<i>Beit Dejan</i>	Ekron	
15. Naamah	<i>Na'aneh</i>	Ashdod	
16. Makkedah	<i>el-Moghār</i>	Gaza	

IN THE MOUNTAINS.

Hebrew	Arabic	Hebrew	Arabic
1. Shamir	<i>Sōmerah</i>	4. Juttah	<i>Yuttah</i>
2. Jattir	<i>'Attir</i>	5. Jezreel	<i>Zanûta</i> <i>Yekin</i> <i>Jeb'a</i> <i>Tibna</i>
3. Socoh	<i>Shuweikeh</i>	6. Jokdeam	
4. Dannah	<i>Idhnah</i>	7. Zanoah	
5. Debir	<i>edh-Dhāheriyeh</i>	8. Cain	
6. Anab	<i>'Anab</i>	9. Gibeah	<i>Halhul</i> <i>Beit Sūr</i> <i>Jedūr</i> <i>Beit Ummar</i> <i>Beit 'Ainūn</i>
7. Eshtemoh	<i>es-Semū'a</i>	10. Timnah	
8. Anim	<i>el-Ghuwein</i>	1. Halhul	
9. Goshen	<i>Jāla</i>	2. Beth Zur	
10. Holon		3. Gedor	<i>'Armah</i> <i>Rubba</i>
11. Giloh		4. Maarath	
1. Arab	<i>er-Rabiyeh</i>	5. Beth Anoth	
2. Dumah	<i>Dōmeh</i>	6. Eltekon	<i>Sikkeh</i> <i>Tell el-Mūh</i> <i>'Ain Jidy</i>
3. Eshean	<i>Beni Naim</i>	1. Kirjath Jearim	
4. Janum		2. Rabbah	
5. Beth Tappuah	<i>Tuffūh</i>	1. Beth Arabah	
6. Aphekah	<i>el-Khalil</i>	2. Middin	<i>Sikkeh</i> <i>Tell el-Mūh</i> <i>'Ain Jidy</i>
7. Humtah		3. Secacah	
9. Hebron	<i>S'atr</i>	4. Nibshean	
9. Zior		5. Airham-Melakh	
1. Maon	<i>M'a'in</i>	6. Engedi	<i>Sikkeh</i> <i>Tell el-Mūh</i> <i>'Ain Jidy</i>
2. Carmel	<i>Kurmul</i>		
3. Ziph	<i>Tell Zif</i>		

LIST OF TOWNS—continued.

BENJAMIN (Josh. 18. 21-28).

Hebrew	Arabic	Hebrew	Arabic
1. Jericho	'Ain es-Sultân	1. Gibeon	<i>el-Jîb</i>
2. Beth Hoglah	'Ain Haylah	2. Ramah	<i>er-Râm</i>
3. Emek Keziz		3. Beeroth	<i>Bîreh</i>
4. Beth Arabah		4. Mizpeh	<i>Sh'afât</i>
5. Zemaraim	<i>Samrah</i>	5. Chephirah	<i>Kefîreh</i>
6. Bethel	<i>Beitin</i>	6. Mozah	<i>Beit Mizzeh</i>
7. Avim		7. Rekem	
8. Parah	<i>Fârah</i>	8. Irpeel	<i>Râfât</i>
9. Ophrah	<i>Taiyibeh</i>	9. Taralah	
10. Cephar-haam-monai		10. Zelah	
11. Ophni		11. Eleph	<i>Lifta</i>
12. Gaba	<i>Jeb'a</i>	12. Jebusi	<i>el-Kuds</i>
		13. Gibeon	<i>Jebi'a</i>
		14. Kirjath	<i>Kuriet el-'Anab</i>

(NEIL. 11. 31-35).

Hebrew	Arabic	Hebrew	Arabic
Michmash	<i>Mukhmâs</i>	Ramah	<i>er-Râm</i>
Aija	<i>Huiyân</i>	Gittaim	
Bethel	<i>Beitin</i>	Hadid	<i>Haditkeh</i>
Anathoth	<i>Anâta</i>	Zeboim	
Nob	<i>Sh'afât</i>	Neballat	<i>Beit Nebâla</i>
Ananiah	<i>Beit Hanina</i>	Lod	<i>Lidd</i>
Hazor	<i>Hazzûr</i>	Ono	<i>Kefr 'Ana</i>

THE ANIMALS AND PLANTS OF THE BIBLE.

giving the correct Translation of the original Names, when known, and the scientific Name of the Species.

MAMMALIA.

Apes (Hebrew Kophim). 1 Kings 10. 22. 2 Chr. 9. 21. The word is identical with the name of the monkey in Tamil.

Ass (1). (Heb. Hamor). Arab. *Hamâr*. A he-ass.

(2). (Heb. Athon). She-ass.

(3). (Heb. 'Ayir). A colt.

Ass (Wild). (1). (Heb. 'Arod). *Asinus Hemippus*.

(2). (Heb. Pere). Job 39. 6-8, &c.

Badger (Heb. Takhash). Probably the porpoise. See p. 227.

Bat (Heb. 'Atallaph. 'The night flier.') Lev. 11. 19-20. Deut. 14. 18, includes a great number of species of bat found in Palestine.

Bear (Heb. Dob). Arab. *Dubb*. *Ursus Syriacus*.

Behemoth (Heb. Behemoth. 'The beast.') Job. 40. 15-24. *Hippopotamus amphibius*.

Boar (Wild). (Heb. Khazir). Arab. *Khanzîr*. *Sus scrofa*.

Bull (Wild). (Heb. To). Possibly the Bubale, *Alcephalus Bubalis*, Arab. *Bakr el-Wahash*, 'Wild Cow.'

Camel (Heb. Gamal). Arab. *Jemel*. *Camelus Dromedarius*

Cat. Baruch 6. 22.

Cattle (1) (Heb. Behemah). Arab. *Behimch*. 'Beasts.'

(2) (Heb. Bakar). Arab. *Bakr*. Cattle generally.

(3) (Heb. Shor). Aram. Thor. Arab. *Thôr*. 'Bull.'

(4) (Heb. Par, fem. Parah). Young bull and young cow.

(5) (Heb. 'Aigel, fem. 'Aigleh). Arab. 'Ajel, 'Ajleh. 'Calf.'

Chamois (Heb. Zemer. 'The leaper.') Probably the wild sheep. Arab. *Kebash*. *Ovis Tragelaphus*.

Coney (Heb. Shaphan). Arab. *Wabr* and *Thofen*. *Hyrax Syriacus*.

Dog (Heb. Celeb). Arab. *Kelb*.

Dromedary (1) (Heb. Bicrah). A blood camel. Isaiah 60. 6.

(2) (Heb. Recesh. 'Swift beast.') Esther 8. 10, Micah 1. 13.

(3) (Heb. Beni Rammak. 'Sons of mares.') Arab. *Ramkah*. A mare. Esther 8. 10.

Elephant (Heb. Shen Habim. 'Teeth of elephants.') 1 Kings 10. 22. In Tamil the elephant is called Habba. On the Assyrian monuments, Habba.

Fallow Deer (Heb. Yakhmor). Arab. *Yahmûr*. The roebuck.

Ferret (Heb. Anakah). Levit. 11. 30. Probably a lizard.

Fox (Heb. Shual). The jackal. (*Canis aureus*), which is a fruit-eater (cf. Cant. 2. 15). See p. 227.

Goat (1). (Heb. Ez). Arab. *Ma'az*, a goat.

(2). (Heb. Tzaphir). Dan. 8. 5. An old he-goat.

(3). (Heb. S'air. 'Hairy.')

(4). (Heb. 'Athud). He-goat.

(5). (Heb. Tayish). Arab. *Teish*. 'The butter.'

Goat (Wild) (1). (Heb. Yael. 'The climber.') Arab. *Bedn*. The Ibex, *Capra Beden*.

(2). (Heb. Ako). Deut. 14. 5. Probably the same.

(3). (Heb. Yaelah). Prov. 5. 19. The wild she-goat.

Greyhound (Heb. Zarzir Mathnayim. 'Girt in the loins.') Prov. 30. 31. Unknown.

Hare (Heb. Arnebeth). Arab. *'Ernebah*. Includes five species of hare.

Hart and Hind (Heb. Aiyal, fem. Aiyalah). Probably the fallow deer. *Cervus Elaphus*.

Horse (1). (Heb. Sus). Arab. *Hisân*.

(2). (Heb. Parash). Arab. *Faras*. Rendered 'horseman' in Auth. Ver. Gen. 50. 9, &c. The word in Arabic means generally a 'mare'; in the Bible always a chariot horse.

Leopard (Heb. Namer). Arab. *Nimr*. *Felis Jubata*.

Lion (1). (Heb. Arie). General term for a lion.

(2). (Heb. Cephir). A young lion.

(3). (Heb. Labi, fem. Labiyah). A full-grown lion and lioness.

(4). (Heb. Laish). An old lion.

(5). (Heb. Gur). A whelp. Gen. 49. 9. Not of the lion exclusively (compare Lam. 4. 3).

(6). (Heb. Shakhatz). Job 18. 8. Doubtful.

(7). (Heb. Shakhal). Job 4. 10. 'The brayer.'

Mole (1). (Heb. Tinshemeth). Probably a lizard. Lev. 11. 30.

- Mole** (2). (Heb. Hephor-Peroth). Doubtful. Isaiah 2. 20.
- Mouse** (Heb. Acbar). Arab. 'Akber. The Jerboa. Levit. 11. 29.
- Mule** (1). (Heb. Pered). Arab. *Baghl*. 2 Sam. 13. 29, &c.
 (2). (Heb. Recesh). Esther 8. 10. See Dromedary.
- Pygarg** (Heb. Dishon). Deut. 14. 5. A 'white rumped' animal, probably *Gazella Dorcas*. See page 225.
- Roebuck, Roe** (Heb. Tzebi, fem. Tzebiyeh). Probably the gazelle, *Gazella Arabica*.
- Satyr** (Heb. Seirim. 'Hairy ones.') Isaiah 13. 21. Rendered devils, Lev. 17. 7.
- Sheep** (1). (Heb. Tzon.) A flock of sheep.
 (2). (Heb. Seh) A sheep or goat.
 (3). (Heb. Ayil). A ram.
 (4). (Heb. Rakhal). An ewe.
 (5). (Heb. Cebes, fem. Cebesah). Arab. *Kebes*. A lamb.
 (6). (Heb. Taleh). A young lamb.
 (7). (Heb. Car). A lamb.
- Sow**. (Heb. Khazir.) See Boar.
- Swine**. (Greek Koiros.) Domestic pigs. Cf. Luke 8. 32-34.
- Unicorn** (Heb. Rim). The Aurochs. *Bos primigenius*. See page 225.
- Weasel** (Heb. Kholed). Arab. *Khuld*. The mole-rat. *Spalax Typhlus*.
- Whale** (Heb. Tannin. 'Monster.') Including the various species of *Cetacea* (cf. Lam. 4. 3). The Crocodile (Isaiah 27. 1). Serpents (Ex. 7. 10). Dragons (Deut. 32. 33).
- Wolf** (Heb. Zeeb). Arab. *Dhib*. *Canis Lupus*.

BIRDS.

- Bittern** (Heb. Kippod). Isaiah 14. 23, 34. 11, Zeph. 2. 14. A water bird.
- Crane** (Heb. Sis). Arab. *Sis* = the swift. (*Cypselus affinis*). Isaiah 38. 14, Jer. 8. 7.
- Cormorant** (Heb. Shalak. 'Diver'). Lev. 11. 17, Deut. 14. 17.
- Cuckow** (Heb. Shakhaph). Levit. 11. 18, Deut. 14. 18.
- Dove** (Heb. Yoneh). Arab. *Jôzel*. *Columba Palumbus*, *C. Schimper*, *C. Livia*, *C. Oenas* are found in Palestine.

- Eagle** (Heb. Neshr). Arab. *Nusr*. Includes the griffon vulture (*Gyps fulvus*), the golden eagle, &c.
- Gier Eagle** (Heb. Rakham). Arab. *Rakhmeh*. The Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*). Lev. 11. 18, Deut. 14. 17.
- Glede** (Heb. Raah). Deut. 14. 13. Unknown species.
- Great Owl** (1) (Heb. Yanshuph. 'Twilight bird'). Lev. 11. 17, Deut. 14. 16, Isaiah 34. 11. Probably *Otus Ascalaphus*.
- Great Owl** (2) (Heb. Kippoz). Isaiah 34. 15. Unknown species.
- Hawk** (Heb. Netz). Job 39. 26. Apparently a migratory raptorial bird (Lev. 11. 16, Deut. 14. 16). Probably includes many species of hawk (Arab. *Nuseir*).
- Heron** (Heb. Anaphah). Lev. 11. 19, Deut. 14. 18. A generic term.
- Kite** (Heb. Ayah). Lev. 11. 14, Deut. 14. 13. Probably the kite which has remarkably keen sight (cf. Job 28. 7), *Milvus regalis*. Arab. *Shüh* and *Hedaiyeh*.
- Lapwing** (Heb. Dukipath). Lev. 11. 19, Deut. 14. 18. The Syriac name for the Hoopoe (*Upupa Epops*).
- Little Owl** (Heb. Cus) inhabiting ruins. (Psalm 102. 6). Probably *Athene Persica*. Arab. *Küka-or Bümeh*.
- Night hawk** (Heb. Takhmas. 'The face-tearer.') Lev. 11. 16, Deut. 14. 15.
- Ostrich** (1) (Heb. Y'anah). Evidently the ostrich. Lam. 4. 3.
- (2) (Heb. Ranan). See Peacock.
- Ossifrage** (Heb. Peres. 'The breaker.') Probably the Lammer-geier (*Gypætus Barbatus*), which drops its prey to split the bone or shell. Lev. 11. 13. Deut. 14. 12.
- Osprey** (Heb. 'Azniyeh). Lev. 11. 13, Deut. 14. 12.
- Owl** (Heb. Bath ha-Y'anah. 'Daughter of greediness.') Probably the same as Y'anah (Lam. 4. 3), the Ostrich.
- Partridge** (Heb. Kore. 'The caller,') includes the species *Caccabis saxatilis* (Arab. *Shinnâr*), *Ammodendrix Heyi* (Arab. *Hajl*), and probably the francolin, *Francolinus vulgaris* (Arab. *Khudry*), and the Sand Grouse, *Pterocles Senegalensis* (Arab. *Kat'a*).
- Peacock** (1) (Heb. Tucciyim pl.). A Tamil word *Tokei* means peacock. (Of. 1 Kings 10. 22).
- (2) (Heb. Ranan), Job 39. 13, probably the Ostrich, as the Peacock is not a native of Palestine.
- Pelican** (Heb. Kaath. 'The vomiter.') Rendered Cormorant in Isaiah 34. 11, includes *P. Onocrotalus* and *P. Crispus*.
- Quail** (Heb. Selau). Arab. *Salwah*. *Coturnix vulgaris*. Exod. 16. 11-13. Ps. 78. 27.

- Raven** (Heb. Oreb). Arab. *Ghurāb*, the Raven. *Corvus Corax*.
Screech Owl (Heb. Lilith. 'Night monster.') Isaiah 34. 14.
Sparrow (Heb. Tzippor). Arab. *Asfūr*, any small bird, but especially the Sparrow.
Stork (Heb. Khasida). Lev. 11. 19. Deut. 14. 18. Probably *Ciconia alba*. The Stork is very common in Palestine in spring.
Swallow (1) (Heb. Deror). Ps. 84. 3. 'Free bird.'
 (2) (Heb. 'Ajur). Isaiah 38. 14. Jer. 8. 7.
Swan (Heb. Tinshemeth, Aram. *But*). Probably the wild Duck. Arab. *Butt*. Lev. 11. 18. Deut. 14. 16.
Turtle Dove (Heb. Thor Yoneh), includes the species *Turtur auritus*, *T. Risorius*, *T. Senegalensis*. Arab. *Hamām*.
Vulture (Heb. Dayah). Isaiah 34. 15. Lev. 11. 14. Deut. 14. 18.

REPTILES.

- Adder** (1). (Heb. Pethen). Ps. 58. 4, Ps. 91. 13. See Asp.
 (2). (Heb. Shephiphon). Gen. 49. 17. Probably Arab. *Shifun*, Horned Snake. *Cerastes Hasselquistii*.
 (3). (Heb. Akhsab). Ps. 140. 3. Unknown species.
 (4). (Heb. Tziphoni). Prov. 23. 32. See Cockatrice.
Asp (Heb. Pethen). The Egyptian Cobra, *Naja Haje*. Cf. Ps. 91. 13.
Chameleon (Heb. Coakh). Lev. 11. 30. Unknown species.
Cockatrice (Heb. Tzephoni). Unknown species.
Dragon (1) (Heb. Tan). Job 30. 29. Probably a mammal.
 (2) (Heb. Tannin). See Whale.
Ferret (Heb. Anakah). Lev. 11. 30. Unknown species.
Frog (Heb. Tzephardea). Ex. 8. The translation is undoubted.
Leviathan (Heb. Lewiathan). The Cetacea generally. Ps. 104. 26. The Crocodile. Job 41.
Lizard (Heb. Letaah). Lev. 11. 30. The translation is undoubted.
Serpent (Heb. Nakhash). A general term for serpents.
Serpent (Fiery) (Heb. Saraph). Num. 21. 6, the LXX. reads 'deadly.'
Snail (Heb. Khomet). Lev. 11. 30. Apparently some kind of lizard.
Tortoise (Heb. Tzab). Lev. 11. 30. Arab. *Dabb*. A large lizard. *Uromastix Spinipes*.
Viper (Heb. Eph'eh. 'The hisser.') A venomous serpent, cf. Job 20. 16.

INVERTEBRATE ANIMALS.

Ant (Heb. Nemalah). Arab. *Naml*. The Ant.

Bald Locust (Heb. Sal'am). Lev. 11. 22. According to the Talmud, a species of locust with a smooth head.

Bee (Heb. Deborah). Arab. *Dabbār*. See page 230.

Beetle (Heb. Khargol). Lev. 11. 22. Some species of locust.

Cankerworm (Heb. Yelek). Joel 1. 4, Ps. 105. 34. Some species of locust.

Caterpillar. (Heb. Khasil. 'The Devourer.') Isaiah 33. 4. Probably the larva of the locust.

Crimson (Heb. Thola'ath hash-Shani). The Cochineal (*Coccus ilicis*). See page 231. Exod. 39. 1.

Flea (Heb. Par'osh). Arab. *Baraghúth*. *Pulex irritans*.

Flies (1) (Heb. 'Arob). Ex. 8. 21.

(2) (Heb. Zebub). Eccl. 10. 1. Arab. *Dhiban*. 'Flies.'

Gnat (Greek Konops). Matt. 23. 24.

Grasshopper (Heb. Khagab). Lev. 11. 22. Probably a general term for the Orthoptera (cf. 2 Chr. 7. 13 and Num. 13. 33). See Locust.

Hornet (Heb. Tzir'ah). See page 230.

Horseleech (Heb. 'Alukah). Arab. 'Alak. *Hæmopsis Sanguisuga*.

Lice (Heb. Khinnim). The translation is undoubted.

Locust (1) (Heb. Tzelatzal). Deut. 28. 42. Unknown species.

(2) (Heb. Gob). Isaiah 33. 4, Amos 7. 1, Nah. 3. 17. The species is unknown.

(3) (Heb. Arbah). Lev. 11. 22. Unknown species.

Moth (Heb. 'Ash). Isaiah 50. 9. The clothes moth (*Tineidæ*) is apparently always intended.

Palmer Worm (Heb. Gazam, 'The cutting insect'). Joel 1. 4, &c. The species is unknown.

Scorpion (Heb. 'Akrah). Arab. 'Akrah. The scorpion.

Snail (Heb. Shablul). Ps. 58. 8. See page 230.

Spider (1) (Heb. Accabish). Job 8. 14. Isaiah 59. 5. Is evidently the Spider.

(2) (Heb. Semamith). Prov. 30. 28. Unknown.

Worm (1) (Heb. Sâs). The caterpillar of the clothes moth. Cf. Isaiah 51. 8.

(2) (Heb. Rimmah). Job 24. 20. The translation is undoubted.

(3) (Heb. Thole'ah). Applies to worms (Isaiah 14. 11) and to caterpillars. Deut. 28. 39.

PLANTS AND TREES.

Algum Tree or **Almug Tree**. (1 Kings 10. 11. 2 Chron. 2. 8).
Unknown.

Almond (Heb. Shaked). *Amygdalus communis*.

Aloes (Heb. Ahalim). Num. 24. 6. Ps. 45. 8, &c. Unknown.

Anise (Greek Anethon). Matt. 23. 23. *Anethum graveolens*.

Apple (Heb. Tappuakh). Arab. *Tuffüh*, the apple. It is doubtful what tree is intended.

Ash (Heb. Oren). Isa. 44. 14. LXX. renders pine. The Arab. 'Aren is a kind of ash.

Balm (Heb. Bosem and Tzori). Possibly the *Opobalsamum*, or the *Balanites Ægyptiaca*, see p. 223.

Barley (Heb. Shorah). Arab. *Sh'air*, barley.

Baytree (Heb. Ezrakh). Ps. 37. 35. Unknown.

Beans (Heb. Phol). Arab. *Fül*. 2 Sam. 17. 28. (*Vicia faba*).

Bitter Herbs. Ex. 12. 8, included Lettuce, Endive, Chicory, Horseradish, and Coriander. (Pesakhim 2. 6).

Box Tree (Heb. Teasshur). Isa. 41. 19. Ezek. 27. 6. Probably the Box. Arab. *Buks*. (*Burus longifolia*).

Bramble (Heb. Atad and Khoakh). The species are unknown.

Bulrush (Heb. Gome). Probably the Papyrus. (*Cyperus Papyrus*).

Burning Bush (Heb. Sench). Ex. 3. 2-4. Arab. *Sunt*, the *Acacia Nilotica*.

Calamus (Heb. Keneh Bosem). 'Balsam Cane.' Ex. 30. 23. Cant. 4. 14. Ezek. 27. 19. A foreign aromatic cane.

Camphire (Heb. Copher). Arab. *Henna*. See p. 224.

Cane (sweet), (Heb. Kaneh Hattob). Isaiah 43. 24. Jer. 6. 20. Probably the same as Calamus.

Cassia (1) (Heb. Kiddah). Ex. 30. 24. *Cinnamomum Cassia*.

(2) (Heb. Ketziath). Ps. 45. 8. Unknown.

Cedar (Heb. Erez). Arab. *Arz*. *Cedrus Libani*.

Chestnut (Heb. 'Armon). Gen. 30. 37. Ezek. 31. 8. Probably the Plane. *Platanus orientalis*.

Cinnamon (Heb. Kinamon). Ex. 30. 23. *Cinnamomum Zeylanicum*.

Cockle (Heb. Baoshah. 'Stinking weeds.') Job 31. 40 and Isaiah 5. 2-4.

Coriander (Heb. Cur'and). Ex. 16. 31. *Coriandrum sativum*.

Cucumbers (Heb. Kishuim). Num. 11. 5. *Cucumis chate* and *C. sativus*.

- Cummin** (Heb. Cammon). Arab. *Kammôn*. *Cuminum sativum*.
- Cypress** (Heb. Tirzah). Isaiah 44. 14. The species is doubtful.
- Ebony** (Heb. Hobnim). Ezek. 27. 15. *Diospyrus Ebenus*.
- Elm** (Heb. Elah). Hos. 4. 13. The Terebinth.
- Fig** (Heb. Tinah). Arab. *Tîn*. *Ficus carica*.
- Fir** (Heb. Berosh). Arab. *Sinobar*, includes the species *Pinus maritima*, *P. Halepensis*, *P. Carica*.
- Fitches** (1). (Heb. Ketzakh). *Nigella sativa*. Isaiah 28. 25.
(2). (Heb. Cussimeth). Ezek. 4. 9. = Spelt. See Rye.
- Flag** (1). (Heb. Akhu). Gen. 41. 2. Job 8. 11. Species unknown.
(2). (Heb. Suph). Ex. 2. 3, &c. See p. 247.
- Flax** (Heb. Pishtah). *Linum sativum*. Ex. 9. 31.
- Frankincense** (Heb. Lebonah). *Boswellia serrata*. See page 180.
- Galbanum** (Heb. Halbanah). Ex. 30. 34. *Galbanum officinale*.
- Gall** (Heb. Rosh). Unknown. See Hemlock.
- Garlic** (Heb. Shum). Arab. *Thûm*. *Allium sativum*.
- Gopher wood** (Heb. Gopher). Gen. 6. 14. Unknown.
- Gourd** (Heb. Kikayon). Jonah 4. 6. See p. 224.
- Gourd (wild)**. (Heb. Pakk'auth). See p. 224.
- Grass** (1). (Heb. Yered). Num. 22. 4 = herbage.
(2). (Heb. Desher). Gen. 1. 11 = grass.
- Hay** (1). (Heb. Khatzir). (Arab. *Khudr*, 'green.') = grass.
(2). (Heb. Khashash). Arab. *Hashish* = cut grass.
(3). (Heb. Tibn). Arab. *Tibn* = chopped straw.
(4). (Aram. Aur). Arab. 'Awâr = chaff.
- Hazel** (Heb. Luz). Arab. *Lôz*. The Almond. Gen. 30. 37.
- Heath** (Heb. 'Ar'ar). Arab. 'Ar'ar = juniper (*Juniperus Sabina*).
- Hemlock** (1). (Heb. Rôsh). Hos. 10. 4.
(2). (Heb. La'anah). See Wormwood.
- Hyssop**. See p. 224.
- Juniper** (Heb. Rothem). Arab. *Retem*. *Genista Rætam*. 1 Kings 19. 4. Ps. 120. 4. Job 30. 4.
- Leek** (Heb. Khatzir, 'green.') *Allium Porrum*.
- Lentiles** (Heb. 'Adashim). Arab. 'Adas. *Errum Lens*.
- Lily** (Heb. Shushan). The species is doubtful. See page 224.
- Mallows** (Heb. Malluakh). Job 30. 4. Possibly *Malva*. Arab. *Khobbeizeh*.
- Mandrake** (Heb. Meduda, 'love plant'). See p. 224.
- Mastick Tree**. Susannah verse 54. *Pistacia Lentiscus*.
- Melons** (Heb. Abattikhim). Arab. *Batikh*. Many species exist in Palestine.

Millet (Heb. Dokhan). Arab. *Dokhn*: including *Panicum Miliaceum* and *Sorghum vulgare* (Arab. *Dhurrah*).

Mint (Greek Eduosmon). Matt. 23. 23.

Mulberry (Heb. Becaim). 2 Sam. 5. 23. Unknown species.

Mustard Tree (Greek Sinapi). *Sinapis nigra*.

Myrrh (Heb. Mor). Arab. *Murr*. *Balsamodendron Myrrha*.

Myrtle (Heb. Hadas). Arab. *Hadas*. *Myrtus communis*.

Nettles (1). (Heb. Kimmosh). Isaiah 34. 13. Probably *Urtica Pilulifera*.

(2). (Heb. Kharul). Zeph. 2. 9. Unknown.

Nuts (1). (Heb. Egoz). Arab. *Józ*. Cant. 6. 11. Walnut. *Juglans regia*.

(2). (Heb. Botnim). Gen. 43. 11. (Cf. Arab. *Butm'*.) No doubt the pistachio nut. Arab. *Fistuk*. *Pistacia vera*. See Terebinth.

Oak (1). (Heb. Elon, Allon, El, Ilan), includes three species, *Quercus pseudo-coccifera* (Arab. *Ballut*), *Q. Aegilops* (Arab. *Sindian*), *Q. infectoria* (Arab. *Mallul* and *Afs*).

(2). (Heb. Elah). See Terebinth.

Oil Tree (Heb. Etz Shemen). Isaiah 41. 19. Rendered 'pine branches,' Neh. 8. 15, 'olive tree.' 1 Kings 6. 23. Arab. 'Azzün. The Oleaster, *Eleagnus angustifolius*.

Olive (Heb. Zait). Arab. *Zeitün*. *Olea Europæa*.

Onions (Heb. Betzalim). Arab. *Buñ*. *Allium Cepa*.

Palm Tree (Heb. Tamar). Arab. *Tumr* and *Nukhl*, the date palm.

Pannag (Heb. Pannag). Ezek. 27. 17. Unknown.

Paper Reeds (Heb. 'Aroth). Isaiah 19. 7. Arab. 'Ara, 'herbage.

Pine (Heb. Tidhar). Isaiah 41. 19. Unknown species.

Pomegranate (Heb. Rimmon). Arab. *Rummán*. *Punica granatum*.

Poplar (Heb. Libneh. 'White tree.') Probably the Poplar.

Pulse. Dan. 1. 12. (Heb. Zer'a'im). Arab. *Zer'a*, 'seed.'

Rose of Sharon (Heb. Khabutzaaleth). Arab. *Buseil* or *Runjus*. (Aram. Narkus). *Narcissus Tazetta*.

Rue (Greek Peganon). Luke 11. 42. Genus *Rutaceæ*. Four species in Palestine.

Rye (Heb. Oussemuth). Ex. 9. 32, &c., probably spelt (as in Auth. Vers. margin), *Triticum Spelta*.

Saffron (Heb. Karkom). Arab. *Kurkum*. *Crocus sativus*. Cant. 4. 14, only.

Shittah Tree (Heb. Shittah, pl. Shittim). Arab. *Seiyál*. *Acacia Seyal*.

Spikenard (Heb. Nerd). Cant. 1. 11. 'Arab. *Sunbul Hindi*. *Nardostachys Jatamansi*.

Stacte (Heb. Nataph. 'Drop.') *Styrax officinalis*. Arab. 'Abhar. See p. 160.

Sycamine (Gr. Sukaminos). Luke 17. 6. The Mulberry, still so called in Greece. *Morus nigra*.

Sycamore (Heb. Shikmin). *Ficus Sycomorus*.

Tares (Greek Zizania). Arab. *Zawân*. *Lolium Temulentum*.

Teel Tree (Heb. Elah). Isa. 6. 13. See next.

Terebinth (Heb. Elah. Greek Terebinthos). Arab. *Butm*. *Pistacia Terebinthus*.

Thistle and Thorn. Nine Hebrew words occur, none of which are properly identified.

Thyine Wood (Greek Xulon Thuinon). Rev. 18. 12. *Callitris quadrivalvis*, not a native of Palestine.

Vine (Heb. Gephén). Arab. *Jufn*. *Vitis Vinifera*.

Vine (of Sodom), perhaps the Colocynth. *Citrullus Colocynthus*: the fruit is nauseous, and when ripe full of dust. Cf. Deut. 32. 32. The Apple of Sodom (Cf. 4 Wars 8. 4), is probably the 'Osher tree. *Asclepias Procera*.

Wheat (Heb. Khittah). Arab. *Kumh*.

Willow (1). (Heb. 'Arabim). Lev. 23. 40.

(2). (Heb. Tzaphtzaphah). Ezek. 17. 5. Arab. *Sufsâf*, includes four species of *Salix*.

Wormwood (Heb. La'aneh. Greek Apsinthos), probably the Wormwood. Arab. *Shih*. Genus *Artemisia*, including six species.

The standard source of more detailed information is Canon Tristram's 'Natural History of the Bible.'

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX

OR

BIBLICAL GAZETTEER,

Giving the Names of Places in the Holy Land mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, and in the Apocrypha.

THE names of 840 places in the Holy Land, mentioned in the Old and New Testaments and in the Apocrypha, will be found in the following Index ; and the modern name is added in cases where the site has been recovered.

All the more important Biblical places as yet identified will be found marked on the accompanying Maps. The references to position with relation to well-known places will guide the reader in comparing the Maps and the Index. The Biblical references given in the latter are either the earliest in which the name occurs, or else those which most clearly indicate the position of the ancient site.

The identifications, as indicated in the Gazetteer, depend either on the survival of the ancient name in an Aramaic or Arabic form at the present day at the site, or on the accordance between measured distances and those given by the authorities cited, including the works of Josephus, the Talmud, and the Onomasticon of Eusebius.

Out of 840 sites, 500 have been recovered either with certainty or with great probability, and of these 140, marked by an asterisk (*), are not shown on previous maps. Most of the places marked 'unknown' are to be sought either in the Sinaitic Desert or east of Jordan.

The references to pages in the Handbook will guide the

reader to the detailed information contained in the body of the work respecting the most interesting places.

Abana (River). 2 Kings 5. 12. The Arabic version renders it

Barada: a river rising north of Hermon and flowing to Damascus.

Abarim (Mountains), i.e. 'Mountains beyond Jordan,' the range of Nebo. Deut. 32. 49. (Reuben.)

Abdon. Josh. 21. 30. Now a ruin named '*Abdeh*. (Asher.)

Abel Beth Maacha or **Abel Maim**. 2 Sam. 20. 15. Now a village *Abel*, west of Baniâs. (Naphtali.)

Abel Ceramim. Judg. 11. 33. 'Plain of the vineyards.' Unknown.

***Abel Meholah**. 1 Kings 4. 12. Jerome places it ten miles south of Scythopolis, or at the present '*Ain Helweh*.

Abel Shittim. Num. 33. 49. = Shittim.

Abel Mizraim. Gen. 50. 11. Unknown.

***Abez** ('white'). Josh. 19. 20. Probably the ruin *el-Beida*, 'white,' at north limit of the Plain of Esdraelon. (Issachar.)

Abilene (District). Luke 3. 1. See Chapter 6, page 317.

Accho. Judg. 1. 31. The modern town of '*Akkah*.

Aceldama (Chaldee Hakel Dama, 'field of blood.') Acts 1. 19. The traditional site, since the fourth century, has been shown at *Hak el-Dumm*, opposite Sion, on the south.

Achor (Valley). Now *Wady Kelt*. See Chap. 3, p. 258.

***Achshaph**. Josh. 19. 25. The present village *el-Yasif*. (Asher.)

Achzib. Josh. 15. 44. See Chezib.

Achzib. Josh. 19. 29. The present town of *ez-Zib*. (Asher.)

Adadah. Josh. 15. 22. The present ruin '*Ad'adah*, in the desert south-east of Beersheba.

Adam ('red earth'), a city beside Zaretan. Josh. 3. 16. The name is probably preserved at the present ford of *ed-Dâmieh*. See Chap. 2, p. 241.

Adamah. Josh. 19. 36. The present village *ed-Dâmeh*, west of the Sea of Galilee.

***Adami**. Josh. 19. 33. The present ruin *Admah*, south-west of the Sea of Galilee.

Adar. Josh. 15. 3. Unknown.

***Adasa**. 1 Macc. 7. 40. Was 30 stadia from Bethhoron. 12 Ant. 10. 5. The present ruin of '*Adasah*. See Chap. 5, p. 294.

Adida. 1 Macc. 12. 38. On an eminence (13 Ant. 6. 4) in the Shephelah. The present village *Haditheh*, close to Lydda on east.

Adithaim. Josh. 15. 26. Unknown.

Admah. Gen. 10. 19. See Chap. 2, p. 241.

- Adoraim.** 2 Chron. 11. 9. 'The present village of *Dūra*, west of Hebron.
- *Adullam.** Josh. 12. 15. Eusebius places it ten miles east of Eleutheropolis. The present ruined fortress of '*Aid el-Ma*.
- Adummim** ('going up of'). Josh. 15. 7. Now called *Tal'at ed-Dumm*. See Chap. 3, p. 258.
- Aenon** ('springs'). John 3. 23. Now '*Ainún*. See Chap. 6, p. 320.
- Ahlab.** Judg. 1. 31. Talmudic Gush Halab, now *el-Fish*. (Naph-tali.)
- *Ai** ('ruins'). Josh. 12. 9. Called by Josephus Aina, was 'close to' Bethel. The present ruined town *Haiyán*. See Chap. 3, p. 254.
- Aijalon or Ajalon.** Josh. 19. 42. The present village *Yálo*. (Dan.)
- Aijalon.** Judg. 12. 12. Unknown.
- Ain.** Josh. 15. 32. Probably should read En Rimmon.
- Akrabbim,** Ascent of. Num. 34. 4. See Chap. 3, p. 241.
- Alammelech.** Josh. 19. 26. Unknown.
- Alemeth.** 1 Chron. 6. 60. The present village '*Almít*, north-east of Jerusalem. (Benjamin.)
- Allon Bachuth,** ('oak of weeping'). Gen. 35. 8. Beneath Bethel.
- Almon** = Alemeth.
- Almon Diblathaim.** Num. 33. 46. Unknown.
- Aloth.** 1 Kings 4. 16. Probably '*Alia*, east of Achzib. (Asher.)
- Alush.** Num. 33. 13. Unknown.
- *Amad.** Josh. 19. 26. Probably the present ruin *el-Amúd*, north of Akkah.
- Amam.** Josh. 15. 26. Unknown.
- Amara** (Mountain). Cant. 4. 8. See Chap. 6, p. 301.
- Ammah** (*Gibeah*), 'hill of the aqueduct.' 2 Sam. 2. 24. Unknown.
- *Anab.** Josh. 15. 60. Now the ruin '*Anáb*, west of Debir. (Judah.)
- *Anaharath.** Josh. 19. 19. Now the village *en-N'aúrah*, north of Jezreel. (Issachar.)
- Ananiah.** Neh. 11. 32. The present village *Beit Hanína*, near Gibeon.
- Anathoth.** Josh. 21. 18. Now the village '*Anáta*. (Benjamin.)
- *Anem.** 1 Chron. 6. 73. Probably the modern village '*Anín*, west of the Plain of Esdraelon.
- *Aner.** 1 Chron. 6. 70. Possibly the modern '*Alár*, in the hills south-west of the Plain of Esdraelon.
- Anim.** Josh. 15. 60. Now a ruin called *Ghúwern*, near Eshtemoa.
- Antipatris.** The distances given in various Itineraries fix this site at the large ruin of *Rás el-Ain*. See Chap. 6, p. 307.
- Aphek.** Josh. 12. 18. Unknown.
- Aphek.** Josh. 19. 30. (Asher.) Unknown.

- Aphék.** Josh. 13. 4. Probably *Afka*, on north-west slope of Lebanon.
- ***Aphék.** 1 Sam. 4. 1. Possibly the present ruin of *Belled el-Foka* ('upper town'), near Gath. (Judah.)
- ***Aphék.** 1 Sam. 29. 1. Possibly the modern village *Fukû'a*, on Gilboa. (Issachar.)
- Aphék.** 1 Kings 20. 26. A walled city in the Mishor (verse 25 A.V. 'plain'), probably the village *Fik*, east of the Sea of Galilee.
- Aphékah.** Josh. 15. 53. Unknown.
- Apherema.** 1 Macc. 11. 34. Probably = Ephraim.
- Ar** (of Moab). Isaiah 15. 1 = Rabbath Moab.
- ***Arab.** Josh. 15. 52. The present ruin *er-Rabiyeḥ*, south of Hebron.
- Arabattene** (in LXX. Acrabattine) = Acrabbim (Ascent of). 1 Macc. 5. 8.
- Arad.** Josh. 12. 14. Now the large ruin *Tell 'Arád*, east of Beersheba.
- Arbattis.** 1 Macc. 5. 23. Unknown.
- Arbela.** 1 Macc. 9. 2. The present ruin *Irbid*, west of the Sea of Galilee.
- ***Archi.** Josh. 16. 2. The present village '*Ain 'Arik*'. See p. 260.
- Argob** (District), in Targum of Jonathan, is rendered *Terakuma*. Probably the present *Lcġja*, or Trachonitis.
- Arimathæa.** Matt. 27. 57, &c. Unknown.
- Armageddon.** Rev. 16. 16. 'Mount Megiddo.'
- Arnon** (River). Now *Wady Mōjib*. See Chap. 3, p. 252.
- Arœr.** Deut. 2. 36. Now the ruin '*Ar'arâ*', on north bank of *W. Mōjib*.
- Arœr.** Num. 32. 34. Unknown.
- Arœr.** 1 Sam. 30. 28. The ruin '*Ar'arah*', twelve miles east of Beersheba.
- Aruboth.** 1 Kings 4. 10. See Chap. 4, p. 282.
- Arumah.** Judg. 9. 41. Unknown.
- Ashan.** Josh. 15. 42. Unknown.
- Ashdod** or **Azotus**, now the large village *Esdūd*, in Philistia.
- Ashdoth Pisgah**, 'streams of Pisgah.' Deut. 3. 17. Apparently the springs now called '*Ayūn Mûsa*', under Mount Nebo.
- Asher ham-Michmethah.** Josh. 17. 7. See Chap. 3, p. 264.
- Ashkelon.** The present ruined city '*Askaldn*', on the coast of Philistia.
- Ashnah.** Josh. 15. 33. Unknown.
- Ashnah.** Josh. 15. 43. Unknown.
- Ashtaroth.** Deut. 1. 4. Probably the same as the next.
- Ashtaroth Karnaim.** See Chap. 5, p. 296.

- Asphar** (Pool or Lake). 1 Macc. 9. 33. Unknown. See p. 297.
- Ataroth** (Num. 32. 3), or **Atroth**. Num. 32. 35. Unknown.
- ***Ataroth**. Josh. 16. 7. Perhaps *Tell et-Trûni*. See Chap. 3, p. 264.
- ***Ataroth Adar**. Josh. 18. 13. Now the ruin *ed-Dârieh*. See p. 260.
- Athach**. 1 Sam. 30. 30. Unknown.
- Aven** ('naught'). Hos. 10. 8. = Beth Aven.
- Avith**. Gen. 36. 35. Unknown.
- Azekah**. Josh. 15. 35. Unknown.
- Azem** or **Ezem**. Josh. 15. 29, &c. Unknown.
- Azmaveth**. Ezra 2. 24. Now the village *Hizmek*, north-east of Jerusalem.
- Azmon**. Num. 34. 4. Unknown.
- Aznoth Tabor**. Josh. 19. 34. 'Ears of Tabor.' See Chap. 3, p. 270.
- Azotus** (Mount). 1 Macc. 9. 15. The hill of the present village *Bir ez-Zeit*, north of Bethel. (Cf. 12 Ant. 11. 2.)
- Azzah**. Deut. 2. 23. = Gaza.
- Baal**. 1 Chron. 4. 33. Unknown.
- Baalah**. Josh. 15. 9. = Kirjath Jearim.
- Baalah** (Mount). Unknown. See Chap. 3, p. 259.
- Baalah** (Josh. 15. 29) = Balah (Josh. 19. 3) = Bilhah. (1 Chron. 4. 23.) Unknown.
- ***Baalath**. Josh. 19. 44. Perhaps the modern village *Belâin*, and identical with the town in 1 Kings 9. 18. 8 Ant. 6. 1.
- Baalath Beer**. Josh. 19. 8. = Ramath Negeb.
- Baal Gad**. Josh. 11. 17. Unknown.
- Baal Hamon**. Cant. 8. 11. Perhaps = Amana.
- Baal Hazor**. 2 Sam. 13. 23. The name is found in the present mountain *Tell 'Asûr*, near Ephraim (*Taiyibeh*). See Chap. 1, p. 210.
- Baal Hermon** (Mount). Judg. 3. 3. = Hermon.
- Baal Meon**. Num. 32. 38. The present ruin *Mâin*.
- Baal Perazim**. 2 Sam. 5. 20. Unknown.
- ***Baal Shalisha**. 2 Kings 4. 42. Probably the present village *Kefr Thilth*, in the territory of Ephraim.
- Baal Tamar**. Judg. 20. 33. Jewish tradition identifies the site with the large ruin *'Attâra*, near Gibeah of Benjamin.
- Baca** (Valley). Ps. 84. 6. Unknown.
- Baburim**. 2 Sam. 16. 5, &c. The Targum of Jonathan reads 'Almon. (*'Almit*.)
- Bajith**. Isaiah 15. 2. Unknown.
- Bamoth Baal** ('Altars of Baal'). Josh. 13. 17. Unknown.
- Bascama**. 1 Macc. 13. 23. Unknown.

- Bashan.** See Chaps. 3 and 6, pp. 2b-; 315.
- Bath Zacharias.** 1 Macc. 6. 32. The present ruined village of *Beit Skâria*, south-west of Bethlehem.
- Bealoth** (pl. fem. of Baal). Josh. 15. 24. Unknown.
- Beer** ('well'). Num. 21. 16. Unknown.
- Beer.** Judg. 9. 21. Unknown.
- Beer Elim.** Isaiah 15. 8. Unknown.
- Beer Lahai Koi.** Gen. 16. 14. Between Bered and Kadesh.
- Beeroth.** Josh. 9. 17. The present village *Bîreh*. (Benjamin.)
- Beeroth Bene Jaakan.** Deut. 10. 6. Unknown.
- Beersheba.** The present ruin *Bîr es-Seb'a*, with three wells.
- Beeshterah.** Josh. 21. 27. = Ashtaroth.
- Bela** = Zoar.
- Belhaim or Belmen.** Judith 4. 4, and 7. 3. See p. 289.
- Bene Berak.** Josh. 19. 45. The present village *Ibn Ibrak*.
- Beon.** Num. 32. 3. Unknown.
- Berachah** (Valley). 2 Chron. 20. 26. The present *Wâdy 'Arrûb*, above which is the ruin *Breikût*.
- ***Berea** (1 Macc. 9. 4) = Beeroth.
- Bered.** Gen. 16. 14. The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan reads *Khalutza* = *Khâlâsa*. South of Beersheba. See p. 250.
- Berothah.** Ezek. 47. 16. Berothai. 2 Sam. 8. 8. Probably the modern city *Beirût*.
- Besor** (Brook). 1 Sam. 30. 9. Perhaps should be *Bi Shur*, i.e. near the wilderness of Shur.
- Betane.** Judith 1. 9. Possibly *Beit 'Ainûn*, or Bethany.
- ***Beten.** Josh. 19. 25. Eusebius places Bebeten eight Roman miles east of Ptolemais. This indicates the village *el-B'aneh*.
- ***Bethabara or Bethany.** The present ford *'Abârah*. See p. 319.
- Beth Anath.** Josh. 19. 38. The present village *'Ainatha*. (Naph-tali.)
- Beth Anoth.** Josh. 15. 59. The present ruin *Beit 'Ainûn*, north-east of Hebron.
- Bethany.** The present village *el-'Azirîyeh*, on Olivet.
- Beth Arabah** ('house of the plain'). Josh. 15. 61. Unknown.
- Beth Aram** = Beth Haram.
- Beth Arbel.** Hos. 10. 14. Unknown.
- Beth Aven.** Josh. 7. 2, &c. See Chap. 3, p. 260.
- Beth Barah.** Judg. 7. 24. Unknown.
- Beth Basi.** 1 Macc. 9. 62. Identified by Josephus (13 Ant. 1. 5) with Beth Aglah, probably Beth Higlâh.
- Beth Birei.** 1 Chron. 4. 31. Unknown.
- Beth Car.** 1 Sam. 7. 11. Unknown.

Beth Dagon. Josh. 15. 41. 'The present village *Beit Dejan*, near Jaffa.

***Beth Dagon.** Josh. 19. 27. Probably *Tell D'aūk*. (Zebulon.) See Chap. 3, p. 268.

Bethel. The present village *Beitin*. (Benjamin.)

Bethel = Bethul.

Beth Emek ('house of the Vale'). Josh. 19. 27. Unknown.

Bether (Mountains). Probably the hills round *Bittir*, west of Bethlehem. Cant. 2. 17.

Bethazel. Micah 1. 11. Unknown.

Beth Gader. 1 Chron. 2. 51. Probably = Gedor.

Beth Gamul. Jer. 48. 23. In the Mishor (Auth. Vers. 'plain'). Unknown.

Beth hac-Cerem (Neh. 3. 14), 'house of the vineyard.' Unknown.

Beth Haran. Num. 32. 36. The present ruin *Beit Harán*, east of Jericho.

Beth Hoglah. Josh. 18. 21. The ruin of '*Ain Hajlah*. See p. 258.

Bethhoron, Upper and Lower. These two towns are the two villages *Beit 'Ur*, the Upper and Lower. See Chap. 3, p. 260.

Beth Jesimoth. Num. 33. 49. The present ruin of *Súeimel*, near the Jordan mouth.

Beth Lebaoth. Josh. 19. 6. Unknown.

Bethlehem (of Judah). The present town *Beit Lahm*.

Bethlehem (of Zebulon). Josh. 19. 15. The present village *Beit Lahm*.

Beth Marcaboth. Josh. 19. 5. Unknown.

Beth Nimrah. Josh. 13. 27. The present ruin *Nimrín*. (Gad.) See Chap. 3, p. 253. Chap. 6, p. 302.

Beth Palet. Josh. 15. 27. Unknown.

Beth Pazzez. Josh. 19. 21. Unknown.

Beth Peor. Deut. 3. 29. Unknown.

***Beth Phage.** See Chap. 6, p. 326.

Beth Rapha. 1 Chron. 4. 12. Unknown.

Beth Rehob. Judg. 18. 28. Unknown.

Beth Saida. See Chap. 6, p. 322.

Beth Shean. Josh. 17. 11. The present ruined town *Beisán*. (Issachar.)

Beth Shemesh (of Judah). Josh. 15. 10. The present ruin '*Ain Shemes*. See Chap. 3, p. 259.

***Beth Shemesh** (of Issachar). Josh. 19. 22. Possibly '*Ain esh-Shem-siyeh*, in the Jordan Valley, near Beisán on south.

Beth Shemesh (of Naphtali). Judg. 1. 33. Unknown.

Beth Shittah. Judg. 7. 22. Unknown.

- Beth Tappuah.** Josh. 15. 53. The present village *Tuffih*, west of Hebron.
- Bethul.** Josh. 19. 4. Unknown.
- *Bethulia.** The present village *Mithilia*. See Chap. 4, p. 289.
- Bethzur.** Josh. 15. 58. The present ruined town *Beit Sūr*, north of Hebron.
- *Betomestham.** Judith 4. 6. Probably the present ruin *Massin*. See Chap. 4, p. 289.
- Betonim.** Josh. 13. 26. Unknown.
- *Bezek.** Judg. 1. 5. Probably the present ruin *Bezkaḥ*, south of Lydda.
- *Bezek.** 1 Sam. 11. 8. The present ruin *Ibzik*, north-east of Shechem.
- Bezzer** (in the Midbar). Josh. 20. 8. Unknown.
- Bezeth.** 1 Macc. 7. 19. Possibly = Bezetha at Jerusalem.
- Bileam** (1 Chron. 6. 70) = Ibleam. Josh. 17. 11. The name is still recognisable in *Wādy Be'ameh*, near Jenin. (Manasseh.)
- Birzavith.** 1 Chron. 7. 31. Unknown.
- Bithron** ('broken ground'). 2 Sam. 2. 29. Unknown.
- Bizjothjah.** Josh. 15. 28. Unknown.
- Bochim** ('the weepers'). Judg. 2. 1. Unknown.
- Bohan** (stone). Josh. 15. 6. Unknown.
- Bosor.** 1 Macc. 5. 26. Unknown.
- Bosora.** 1 Macc. 5. 26. Apparently = Bozrah, east of Bashan.
- Bozez.** 1 Sam. 14. 4. The north-cliff of the valley of Michmash.
- Cabbon.** Josh. 15. 40. Unknown.
- Cabul.** Josh. 19. 27. The present village *Kabûl*, east of Akkah. (Zebulun.)
- Cæsarea.** Acts 8. 40. The present ruined city *Kaisârieh*, north of Jaffa.
- Cæsarea Philippi.** Matt. 16. 13. Coins of Cæsarea Paneas identify this city with the present village *Bânîās* at the Jordan springs.
- Cain.** Josh. 15. 57. The present ruin *Yekin*, south of Hebron.
- Calvary.** Luke 23. 33. = Golgotha. See Chap. 7, p. 356.
- Camon** (in Gilead). Judg. 10. 5. 5 Ant. 7. 6. Unknown.
- Cana** (of Galilee). John 2. 1. Probably the present village *Kefr Kenna*, north of Nazareth.
- Capernaum.** See Chap. 6, p. 325.
- Caphar Salama.** 1 Macc. 7. 31. Possibly the present village *Selmeh*, near Joppa.
- Caphenatha.** 1 Macc. 12. 37. Unknown.
- Carmel** (Mount). Josh. 19. 28. Now *Jebel Kurmul*. See Chap. 1, p. 209.

Carmel (of Judah). Josh. 15. 55. The present ruined town *Kurmul*, south of Hebron.

Casphon, or Casphor. 1 Macc. 5. 26. Unknown.

Cedron. 1 Macc. 15. 39. The present village *Katrah*, near Jamnia.

***Charashim** (Valley). 1 Chron. 4. 14. Near Lod and Ono. Neh. 11. 35. The name is preserved at the ruin *Hirsha*, east of Lydda.

Chellus. Judith 1. 9. Unknown.

Chephar Haammonai. Josh. 18. 24. Unknown.

Chephirah. Josh. 9. 17. The present ruin *Kefireh*. (Benjamin.)

Chesalon. Josh. 15. 10. The present village *Kesla*. See p. 259.

Chesil = Bethul.

Chesulloth. Josh. 19. 18. The present village *Iksâl*. See p. 267.

***Chezib.** Gen. 38. 5. The name appears to linger in that of, *'Ain Kezbeh*, near *Beit Nettif*.

Chidon. 1 Chron. 13. 9. = Nachon. 2 Sam. 6. 6. Unknown.

Chinnereth. Josh. 19. 35. The Talmud (Tal. Jer. Megillah 70a) renders the name by *Ginizer*.

Chinnereth (Sea of) = Sea of Galilee.

Chisloth Tabor = Chesulloth.

***Choba, or Chobai.** Judith 4. 4. The present ruin *el-Mekhobby*, east of Jenin.

Chorashan. 1 Sam. 30. 30. Probably = Ashan.

Chorazin. The present ruined town *Kerâzeh*. See Chap. 6, p. 324.

***Chozeba.** 1 Chron. 4. 22. Possibly the present ruin *Kueiziba*, north-east of Hahul.

***Chusi.** Judith 7. 18. The present village *Kûzah*, south of Shechem.

Cyamon. Judith 7. 3. The present ruin *Tell Keimûn* = Jokneam.

Dabbasheth. Josh. 19. 11. Unknown.

Daberath. Josh. 19. 12. The present village *Debûrieh*, under Tabor.

Dalmanutha. Mark 8. 10. Unknown.

Damascus. The present city *Demesk esh-Shâm*.

Dan. Gen. 14. 14. Josephus (8 Ant. 8. 4) places it near the springs of Lesser Jordan. The name lingers in that of the stream called *Leddân*.

Dan Jaan. 2 Sam. 24. 6. The present ruin *Dániân*, north of Achzib. (Asher.)

***Dannah.** Josh. 15. 49. Probably the present village *Idhnah*, west of Hebron.

Dathema or Dametha. See Chap. 5, p. 295.

***Debîr** ('back'). The present village *edh-Dhâherîyeh* ('back'), on a ridge, south-west of Hebron. Josh. 15. 49.

Debîr. Josh. 15. 7. Unknown.

- Debir.** Josh. 13. 26. Unknown.
- Decapolis** (District). See Chap. 6, p. 316.
- Dedan.** Jer. 49. 8. Unknown.
- *Diblath.** Ezek. 6. 14. Apparently the present village *Dibl*. (Naphthali.)
- Dibon.** Num. 32. 3. The present ruin *Dhibân*. (Reuben.)
- Dibon Gad** = Dibon. See Chap. 2, p. 251.
- Dilean.** Josh. 15. 38. Unknown.
- Dimnah** = Rimmon (1).
- Dimon** (Waters). Isaiah 15. 9. Unknown.
- Dimonah.** Josh. 15. 22. Unknown.
- Dizahab.** Deut. 1. 1. Unknown.
- Dophkah.** Num. 33. 12. Unknown.
- Dor.** Josh. 12. 23. Jerome places it nine miles from Cæsarea, on the road to Ptolemais. The ruins of a city here exist near the modern village *Tantûra*.
- Dothan.** Gen. 37. 17. The present ruin *Tell Dothân*, north of Samaria. (Issachar.)
- Dumah.** Josh. 15. 52. The present ruin *Dômeh*, south-west of Hebron.
- Ebal** (Mount). Now called *Jebel Eslamiyeh*. See Chap. 1, p. 210.
- *Ebenazer**: Jerome places near Bethshemesh, probably intending the site of the present village *Deir Abân*, east of *'Ain Shemes*.
- Ebronah.** Num. 33. 34. Unknown.
- Ed** (Josh. 22. 34) 'witness' (Altar of). Unknown.
- Edar.** Gen. 35. 21. (tower) Jerome places 1,000 paces from Bethlehem.
- Eder.** Josh. 15. 21. Unknown.
- Edrei.** Num. 22. 33. Apparently the large ruined town *Edr'a*, on the south-west border of the Lejja district in Bashan.
- *Edrei.** Josh. 19. 37. Probably the present village *Y'ater*. (Naphthali.)
- Eglon.** Josh. 15. 39. The present ruin *'Ajlân*, in Philistia.
- Ekrebel.** Judith 7. 18. The present village *'Akrabeh*. See p. 290.
- Echron.** Josh. 13. 3. The present village *'Aker*, in Philistia.
- Elah** (Valley). 1 Sam. 17. 2. The present *Wâdy es-Sunt*. See Chap. 1, p. 211.
- Elath.** Deut. 2. 8. The present *Aila*. See Chap. 2, p. 247.
- Elealah.** Num. 32. 3. The present ruin *el-'Al*, near Heshbon. (Reuben.)
- *Eleasa.** 1 Macc. 9. 5. The present ruin *Il'asa*, near Bethhoron.
- *Eleph.** Josh. 18. 28. The present village *Lifta*, west of Jerusalem.
- Elim.** Ex. 15. 27. See Chap. 2, p. 248.

- Elkosh.** Nah. 1. 1. Unknown.
- ***Elon.** Josh. 19. 43. Probably the present village *Beit Elio*. (Dan.)
- ***Elon Beth Hanan.** 1 Kings 4. 9. The present village *Beit 'Anān*, in the low hills east of Lydda.
- ***Elitekeh.** Josh. 19. 44. Probably the present *Beit Likia*. (Dan.)
- Elitekon.** Josh. 15. 49. Unknown.
- Eltolad.** Josh. 15. 30. Unknown.
- Emmaus.** Luke 24. 13. See Chap. 6, p. 326. Probably the ruin *Khamasa*. (Judah.)
- Emmaus** (Nicopolis). 1 Macc. 3. 40. The present village *'Amwās*.
- ***Enam.** Josh. 15. 34. Possibly the present ruin *'Allin*, near Zoreah.
- Endor.** Josh. 17. 11. The present village *Endūr*.
- En Eglaim.** Ezek. 47. 10. Unknown.
- ***En Gannim** (of Judah). Josh. 15. 34. The present ruin *Umm Jina*, west of Beth Shemesh.
- En Gannim** (of Issachar). Josh. 19. 21. The present town *Jenin*. (Issachar.)
- En Gedi.** Josh. 15. 62. The present ruin and spring *'Ain Jidy*, on the west shore of Dead Sea.
- ***En Haddah.** Josh. 19. 21. Probably the present village *Kéfr Adān*. See Chap. 3, p. 266.
- En Hakkore** ('Spring of the crier'). Judg. 15. 19. See Lehi.
- En Hazor.** Josh. 19. 37. The present *Hazīreh*, by *Wādy el-'Ayūn*. (Naphtali.)
- En Mishpat** = Kadash. Gen. 14. 7.
- En Rimmon.** Josh. 15. 32 and 19. 7. Neh. 11. 29. The present ruin *Umm er-Rumāmin*, north of Beersheba.
- En Rogel.** See Chap. 7, p. 334.
- En Shemesh.** Josh. 15. 7. Apparently the present *'Ain Haud*, east of Jerusalem.
- En Tappuah.** Josh. 17. 7. See Chap. 3, p. 263.
- Ephes Dammim.** 1 Sam. 17. 1. Unknown.
- Ephraim.** 2 Sam. 13. 23. John 11. 54. Apparently = Ophrah of Benjamin.
- Ephratah** = Bethlehem (of Judah).
- Ephron.** 1 Macc. 5. 46. Unknown.
- Ephron** (Mount). Josh. 15. 9. Unknown.
- Esdraelon** = Jezreel.
- Esek** (Well). Gen. 26. 20. Unknown.
- Eschol.** Num. 13. 23. Unknown.
- ***Eshean.** Josh. 15. 52. Possibly the ruin *es-Simā*, near Dumah.
- Eshtaol.** Josh. 15. 33. Probably the present village *Eshū'a*, close to Zorah.

- Eshtemoa.** Josh. 15. 50. The present village *es-Semû'a*, south of Hebron.
- ***Esora.** Judith 4. 4. The present village '*Asireh*', near Shechem, on the north.
- ***Etam.** 1 Chron. 4. 32. The present ruin '*Aitûn*', south-west of Hebron.
- Etam.** 2 Chron. 11. 6. The present village *Urtâs*, south of Bethlehem, near which is the spring called '*Ain 'Atân*.'
- ***Etam** (Rock). Judg. 15. 8. The present rock and village *Beit 'Atâb*, west of Bethlehem.
- ***Ether.** Josh. 15. 42. Probably the ruin *el-'Atr*, near *Beit Jibrîn*.
- Ezel** (Stone). 1 Sam. 20. 19. Unknown.
- Ezem**, = Azem.
- Ezion Geber.** See Chap. 2, p. 247. Later Berenice (8 Ant. 6. 4).
- Gaash** (Mount). Josh. 24. 30. Unknown.
- Gadara.** Mark. 5. 1. Luke 8. 26. Near the Hieromax (Pliny, Hist. Nat. 5. 16), sixteen Roman miles from Scythopolis and from Tiberias (Onomasticon), now the ruined city *Umm Keis*. See Chap. 6, p. 316.
- Galeed.** Gen. 31. 47. See Chap. 6, p. 305.
- Galgala.** 1 Macc. 9. 2. Probably = Gilgal (2).
- Galilee.** See Chap. 6, p. 312, and Chap. 1, p. 208.
- ***Gallim.** 1 Sam. 25. 44. Isaiah 10. 30. Possibly *Beit Jâla*, near Bethlehem.
- Gareb** (Hill). ('Plantation'). Jer. 31. 39. Unknown.
- Gath** (Josh. 13. 3), &c.: five Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Diospolis (Lydda), according to the Onomasticon. This points to the fortress of *Tell es-Sâfi*.
- Gath Hopher.** Josh. 19. 13. Containing the tomb of Jonah (Onomasticon. Cf. 2 Kings 14. 25), now the village *el-Mesh-hed* ('the monument'), with the tomb of *Neby Yûnas*.
- Gath Rimmon** ('lofty Gath'). Josh. 21. 24. Probably = Gath.
- Gaza.** Gen. 10. 19. Now the city *Ghazze*, in Philistia.
- Gazara.** 1 Macc. 9. 52. = Gezer.
- Geba** ('hill') (1) of Benjamin (Josh. 21. 17) = Gaba. Josh. 18. 24. Now the village *Jeb'a*, near Michmash.
- Geba** (2). Judith 3. 10. Now *Jeb'a*, north of Shechem.
- Gebim.** Isaiah 10. 31. Unknown.
- ***Gederah.** Josh. 15. 36. The Gedor of the Onomasticon, ten miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Diospolis, now the ruin *Jedîreh*.

***Gederah**, of Benjamin. 1 Chron. 12. 4. Now *Jedireh*, north of Jerusalem.

***Gederoth**. Josh. 15. 41. Apparently the present village *Katrah*.

Gederothaim. Josh. 15. 46. According to LXX. was part of Gederah.

Gedor. Josh. 15. 58. = Geder. Josh. 12. 13. The present village *Jedûr*, in the Hebron mountains.

Gehenna = Valley of the Son of Hinnom. See Chap. 7, p. 330.

Gellioth. Josh. 18. 17. Probably means 'downs.'

Gennesaret (Sea). Now *Bahr Tubariya*.

Gerar. Gen. 10. 19. Now the ruin *Umm el-Jerrâr*, south of Gaza.

Gergesenes. Matt. 8. 28. Sinaitic MS. reads Gazarenes; and Vatican MS. Gadarenes, agreeing with Mark 5. 1. Luke 8. 26.

Gerizim (Mount). Deut. 11. 29. Now called *Jebel et-Tôr*. See Chap. 1, p. 210.

Geshur. Deut. 3. 14. Part of Bashan. See Chap. 3, p. 254.

Gethsemane ('oil-press'). Mark 14. 32. Unknown.

***Gexer**. Josh. 12. 12. Four Roman miles northwards from Nicopolis (Onomasticon). Now the large ruin *Tell Jezer*.

Giah ('ravine'). 2 Sam. 2. 24. Unknown.

***Gibbethon**. Josh. 19. 44. Probably the present village *Kibbiâh*, west of Timnathah (*Tîbneh*). (Dan.)

Gibeah. Josh. 15. 57. Now the village *Jeb'a*, west of Bethlehem.

***Gibeah**. Josh. 18. 28. Now the ruin of *Jebi'a*, east of Emmaus Nicopolis.

Gibeah of Saul, or of Benjamin. A district including Geba and Ramah. Cf. 1 Sam. 14. 2, and 22. 6.

Gibeah in the Field. Judg. 20. 31. Part of Geba (1).

***Gibeah Phinehas**. Josh. 24. 33. Now the village *'Awertah*. See Chap. 3, p. 256.

***Gibeah ha-Elohim**. 1 Sam. 10. 5. A garrison of the Philistines = Geba, also a Philistine garrison. 1 Sam. 13. 3.

Gibeon. Josh. 9. 3. Now the village *el-Jib*, north of Jerusalem.

Gidom. Judg. 20. 45. Unknown.

Gihon = Siloam. See Chap. 7, p. 335.

Gilboa (Mount). 1 Sam. 31. 1. The name survives in *Jelbôn*, a village on the ridge east of the Plain of Esdraelon. See Chap. 1, p. 209.

Gilead (Mount) (1). See Chap. 3, p. 253.

Gilead (Mount) (2). See Chap. 4, p. 280.

***Gilgal** (1), east of Jericho. Josh. 4. 19. Now the ruin *Jiljûlia*.

Gilgal (2). 2 Kings 2. 1. Now the village *Jiljûlia*, north of Bethel.

- Gilgal** (of the Góim) (3). Josh. 12. 23. Probably *Jiljulieh*, in the plain of Sharon, north of Antipatris.
- ***Giloh**. Josh. 15. 51. Probably the ruin *Jála*, in the Hebron mountains.
- Gimzo**. 2 Chron. 28. 18. Now the village *Jimzu*, east of Lydda.
- Gittaim**. 2 Sam. 4. 3. Neh. 11. 33. Unknown.
- Goath**. Jer. 31. 39. Unknown.
- Gob** ('pit'). 2 Sam. 21. 18. Unknown.
- Golan**. Josh. 21. 27. In Gaulonitis. Unknown.
- Golgotha** = Calvary. See Chap. 7, p. 356.
- Gomorrhah** (or Amorah). See Chap. 2, p. 240.
- Goshen**. Josh. 10. 41, and 11. 16. A district unknown.
- Goshen**. Josh. 15. 51. A town unknown.
- Gudgodah** = Hor Hagidgad.
- Gur** (probably 'hollow'). 2 Kings 9. 27. Unknown.
- ***Hachilah** (Hill), south of the Jeshimon. 1 Sam. 23. 19. Apparently the ridge now called *el-Kôlah*, east of Maon.
- Hadad Rimmon**. Zech. 12. 11. Jerome (Comm. in Zach.) makes this = Maximianopolis, or the present village *Rummâneh*, west of the Plain of Esdraelon.
- Hadashah**. Josh. 15. 37. Unknown.
- Hadattah**. Josh. 15. 25. Unknown.
- Hadid**. Neh. 7. 37. Now *Haditheh* = Adida.
- Halak** (Mount). Josh. 11. 17. Unknown.
- Halhul**. Josh. 15. 58. The present village *Halhûl*, north of Hebron.
- Hamath**. Num. 34. 8. The present city *Hâma*, north of Damascus.
- Hammath** (i.e. 'hot baths'). Josh. 19. 35. The site was probably at the Emmaus of Josephus, south of Tiberias, the present *Hammâm Tabariya*. 18 Ant. 2. 3. 4 Wars 1. 3.
- ***Hammon**. Josh. 19. 28. The present ruin *Hama*, south-east of Tyre.
- Hammoth Dor**. Josh. 21. 32. Probably = Hammath.
- ***Hannathon**. Josh. 19. 14. The present village *Kefr 'Anân*. See Chap. 3, p. 267.
- ***Haphraim**. Josh. 19. 19. Probably the present ruin *Farriyeh*, west of the Plain of Esdraelon. (The site of Affarea, 6 miles north of Legio, Onomasticon, s. v. Haphraim.)
- Haradah**. Num. 33. 24. Unknown.
- ***Hareth** (thicket of). 1 Sam. 22. 5. LXX. reads 'city' = the present village *Kharâs*, in the Hebron mountains.
- ***Harod** (Spring). Judg. 7. 1. Possibly the present *'Ain el-Jemm'ain*, or 'Spring of two troops,' near Bethshean.

- Harosheth.** Judg. 4. 2. 'The present village *el-Harathiyeh*, above the Kishon, near Carmel.
- Hashmonah.** Num. 33. 30. Unknown.
- Hauran.** Ezek. 47. 18. The present district of *Haurán*. See Chap. 6, p. 315.
- Havoth Jair** (Num. 32. 41), i.e., 'villages of Jair.'
- Hazar Addah.** Num. 34. 4. Unknown.
- Hazar Enan.** Num. 34. 9. Ezek. 47. 17. Unknown.
- Hazar Gaddah.** Josh. 15. 27. Unknown.
- Hazar Hattikon.** Ezek. 47. 16. Unknown.
- Hazar Shual.** Josh. 15. 28. Unknown.
- Hazar Susah** (Josh. 19. 5), or *Hazar Susim*. 1 Chron. 4. 31. Probably the ruin *Susin*, south of Beit Jibrin.
- Hazeroth.** Num. 11. 35. The present '*Ain Hadrah*, north of Mount Sinai. See Chap. 2, p. 249.
- Hazezon Tamar.** Gen. 14. 7. 2 Chron. 20. 2. = Engedi. Compare *Ziz* (Cliff of). The name is probably preserved in that of the tract called *Hasásah* ('pebbles'), near 'Ain Jidy.
- ***Hazor** (1). Josh. 11. 1. The name survives in *Jebel Hadireh*, near Kedes in Upper Galilee. See Chap. 3, p. 255.
- Hazor** (2). Josh. 15. 23. Unknown.
- ***Hazor** (3). Neh. 11. 33. The present ruin *Hazzúr*, near Beit Hanina. (Benjamin.)
- Hebron** (1). The present town *el-Khalil*.
- Hebron** (2). Josh. 19. 28. Probably = Abdon.
- Helbah.** Jud. 1. 31. Unknown.
- Helbon.** Ezek. 27. 18. The present village *Helbón*, in the mountains near Damascus.
- Heleph.** Josh. 19. 33. The present village *Beit Lif*. (Naphtali.)
- Helkath.** Josh. 19. 25. Unknown.
- ***Helkath Hazzurim** ('field of strong ones'). 2 Sam. 2. 16. Possibly *Wady el-Askar*, near Gibeon.
- Hepher.** Josh. 12. 17, and 1 Kings 4. 10. Unknown.
- Hermion** (Mount). Deut. 3. 8. Now called *Jebel esh-Sheikh*.
- Heshbon.** Num. 32. 3. Now the ruined city *Hesbón*. (Reuben.)
- Heshmon.** Josh. 15. 27. Possibly = Azmon.
- Hethlon.** Ezek. 47. 15. Unknown.
- ***Hezron.** Josh. 15. 3. Now *Jebel Hadireh*. See Chap 2, p. 257.
- Hilen.** 1 Chron. 6. 58. = Holon.
- Sinnom** (Valley). Now *Wady er-Rabábeh*. See Chap. 7, p. 330.
- Holon** (1). Josh. 15. 51. Unknown.
- Holon** (2). Jer. 48. 21. Unknown.
- Hor** (Mount). Now called *Jebel Neby Harún*. See Chap. 2, p. 240.

Moreb = Sinai.

***Horem.** Josh. 19. 38. The present ruin *Hárah*, in Upper Galilee.

Hor Hagidgad. Num. 33. 32. Unknown.

Hormah, or Zephath. Judg. 1. 17. Unknown.

Horonaim. Isaiah 15. 5. Jer. 48. 3. Unknown.

***Hosah.** Josh. 19. 29. Probably the present ruin *'Ozziyeh*. (Asher.)

Hukkok. Josh. 19. 34. The present village *Yákúk*. (Naphtali.)

Hukok. 1 Chron. 6. 75. Unknown.

Humtah. Josh. 15. 54. Unknown.

Ibleam. Judg. 1. 27. See Bileam.

Idalah. Josh. 19. 15. Later name was Hirii (Tal. Jer. Megillah 1).

Iim., Josh. 15. 29. Unknown.

Iim. Num. 33. 45. Or Ije Abarim. Num. 21. 11, 33, 44. 'Ruins of the regions beyond Jordan.' Unknown.

***Ijon.** 1 Kings 15. 20. Probably *Khiyám*, in the plain of *Merj 'Ayún*.

Ir Nahash. 1 Chr. 4. 12. Possibly *Deir Nakhás*, near Beit Jibrin

Iron. Josh. 19. 38. The present village *Yárún*. (Naphtali.)

***Irpeel.** Josh. 18. 27. Probably the present village *Ráfát*, near Gibeon.

Ir Shemesh. Josh. 19. 41. The present ruin *'Ain Shemes*, west of Jerusalem.

Ithnan. Josh. 15. 23. Unknown.

Ittah Kazin. Josh. 19. 13. Unknown.

Ituræa. Luke 3. 1. See Chap. 6, p. 316.

Jaakan. Deut. 10. 6. Unknown. = Beeroth Bene Jaakan.

Jaazer. = Jazer.

Jabbok (River). Deut. 3. 16, &c. Between Gerasa and Philadelphia (Onomasticon), the present *Wády Zerka*. See Chap. 1, p. 218.

Jabesh Gilead. 1 Sam. 11. 1. Six Roman miles from Pella on the road to Gerasa (Onomasticon). The name survives in *Wády el-Yábis*.

Jabneel (1). Josh. 15. 11. The present town *Yebnah*, in Philistia.

***Jabneel** (2). Josh. 19. 33. The present ruin *Yemma*. See p. 269.

Jagur. Josh. 15. 21. Unknown.

Jahaz. Num. 21. 23, &c. Unknown.

Jamnia. 1 Macc. 4. 15. = Jabneel.

***Janoah.** 2 Kings 15. 29. The present village *Yanúh*, in the mountains of Naphtali.

Janoah. Josh. 16. 6. Now *Yánún*. See Chap. 3, p. 264.

***Janum.** Josh. 15. 53. The present village *Beni Naum*, east of Hebron.

Japhia. Josh. 19. 12. Now *Yāfa*, south of Nazareth. (Zeb.) See Chap. 3, p. 267.

Japhleti. Josh. 16. 3. Unknown.

Japho. Josh. 19. 46. The present town *Yāfa*. (Dan.)

Jarmuth (1). Josh. 15. 35. The present ruin *el-Yermūk*. (Judah.)

Jarmuth (2). Josh. 21. 29. Probably = Remeth.

Jattir. Josh. 15. 48. The present ruin '*Attir*', north-east of Beersheba.

***Jazer.** Josh. 13. 25. Probably the ruin *Beit Zāra*. See p. 253.

Jearim (Mount). See Chap. 3, p. 259.

Jebus = Jerusalem.

Jegar Sahadutha ('heap of testimony'). Gen. 31. 47. See p. 305.

Jehoshaphat (Emek). Joel 3. 2. The name lingers at *Sh'afāt*, a village immediately north of Jerusalem.

Jehud. Josh. 19. 45. The present village *el-Yehūdiyeh*. (Dan.)

Jericho. Num. 22. 1. The ancient site was probably at '*Ain es-Sultān*'. (4 Wars 8. 3.)

Jeruel (Midbar). 2 Chron. 20. 16. Part of the Jeshimon.

Jerusalem. Now called *el-Kuds esh-Sherif*.

***Jeshanah.** 2 Chron. 13. 19. The present village '*Ain Sinia*', north of Bethel.

Jeshimon. Num. 21. 20. 1 Sam. 23. 19. The desert west of the Dead Sea. See Chap. 1, p. 213.

***Jeshua.** Neh. 11. 28. Probably the present ruin *S'awi*, east of Beersheba.

***Jethlah.** Josh. 19. 42. Probably the present ruin *Beit Tūl*. (Dan.)

Jezreel (1). Josh. 19. 18. The present village *Zer'in*. (Issachar.)

Jezreel (2). Josh. 15. 56. Unknown.

Jiphtah. Josh. 15. 43. Unknown.

Jiphtah-el (Valley). See Chap. 3, p. 267.

Jogbehah. Num. 32. 35. Judg. 8. 11. Unknown.

Jokdeam. Josh. 15. 56. Unknown.

Jokmeam. 1 Chron. 6. 68. Possibly = Kibzaim.

Jokneam (Mount Carmel). Josh. 21. 34. The present ruin *Tell Keimūn*, south of Mount Carmel.

***Joktheel.** Josh. 15. 38. Possibly the present ruin *Kutlāneh*, south of Ekron.

Joktheel (Cliff of). 2 Kings 14. 7. = Selah.

Joppa. 2 Chr. 2. 16. The present town *Yāfa*. (Dan.)

Jordan (River). Now called *Nahr esh-Sheri'ah*. See Chap. 1, p. 215.

Jotbah. 2 Kings 21. 19. Unknown.

TOPOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

- Jothath.** Deut. 10. 7. Num. 33. 33. Unknown.
- Judaea.** See Chap. 6, p. 306.
- Juttah.** Josh. 15. 55. The present village *Yuttah*, south of Hebron.
- Kabzeel.** Josh. 15. 21. Unknown.
- Kadesh Barnea.** See Chap. 2, p. 249.
- Kanah.** Josh. 19. 28. Now the village *Kānah*, south-east of Tyre (Asher.)
- Kanah (Nachal).** Now *Wādy Kānah*. See Chap. 3, p. 263.
- Karkaa.** Josh. 15. 3. Unknown.
- Karkor.** Judg. 8. 10. Unknown.
- Kartah.** Josh. 21. 34. Unknown.
- Kartan.** Josh. 21. 32. Unknown.
- Kattath.** Josh. 19. 15. Unknown.
- Kedemoth.** Josh. 13. 18. Unknown.
- *Kedesh (1).** 1 Chr. 6. 72. Possibly *Tell Abu Kadeis*, near Lejjān, west of the Plain of Esdraelon.
- Kedesh Naphtali (2).** Josh. 19. 37. Now the village *Kedes*.
- *Kedesh (3).** Judg. 4. 11. Near Bitzaanim. Possibly the ruin *Kadish*, on the shore south of Tiberias.
- Kehelathah.** Num. 33. 22. Unknown.
- Keilah.** Josh. 15. 44. Now the village *Kilah*, in the Hebron mountains.
- Kenath.** Num. 32. 42. The ruined town *Kanawāt*, east of Bashan.
- Kerioth Hezron.** Josh. 15. 25. Possibly = Hezron.
- Kerioth.** Jer. 48. 24. Probably = Kiriathaim.
- Keziz (Emek).** Josh. 18. 21. Unknown.
- Kibroth Hattaavah.** Num. 11. 34. Unknown.
- *Kibzaim.** Josh. 21. 22. Perhaps *Tell el-Kabūs*, near Bethel.
- Kidron (Nachal).** Now *Wādy en-Nār*. See Chap. 7, p. 330.
- Kinah.** Josh. 15. 22. Unknown.
- Kir Haraseth (2 Kings 3. 25), and Kir Hareh (Isaiah 16. 11) and,**
- Kir Heres.** Jer. 48. 31. Probably the same as the next.
- Kir of Moab.** Isaiah 15. 1. Targum reads *Kerak*.
- Kiriathaim.** Jer. 48. 1. Ezek. 25. 9. Probably the present ruin *el-Kureiyāt*, between Dibon and Medeba.
- Kirioth.** Amos 2. 2. = Kerioth. Perhaps not a proper name.
- *Kirjath.** Josh. 18. 28. The present village *Kuriet el-'Anab*, which is more generally called only *Kurieh*. (Benjamin.)
- Kirjathaim.** Num. 32. 37. = Kiriathaim.
- Kirjath Arba** = Hebron.
- Kirjath Arim.** Ezra 2. 25. = Kirjath Jearim.
- Kirjath Baal.** Josh. 15. 60. = Kirjath Jearim.

Kirjath Huzoth. Num. 22³ 39. Unknown.

***Kirjath Jearim.** Josh. 9. 17. Probably the present ruin '*Arma*.
See Chap. 3, p. 259.

Kirjath Sannah (Josh. 15. 49) and Kirjath Sepher (Jud. 1. 11), other names of Debir.

Kishion. Josh. 19. 20. Unknown.

Kishon (Nachal). Judg. 4. 7. Now *Nahr el-Mokatt'a*. See Chap. 1, p. 219.

Kithlish. Josh. 15. 40. Not known.

Kitron. Judg. 1. 30. The Tal. Jer. (Megillah 1. 1.) reads Tzippori, the town *Seffürich*. (Zebulon.)

Laban. Deut. 1. 1. Perhaps = Libnah (2).

***Lachish.** Josh. 10. 3. Possibly *Tell el-Hesi*, near Eglon.

Lahai Roi (Well). Gen. 24. 62. Unknown.

***Lahmam.** Josh. 15. 40. Possibly the ruin *el-Lahm*, near Beit Jibrin.

Laish. Judg. 18. 7. Leshem. Josh. 19. 47. = Dan.

Lakum. Josh. 19. 33. Unknown.

Lasha. Gen. 10. 19. Unknown.

***Lasharon.** Josh. 12. 18. Probably the present ruin *Sarôna*, west of the Sea of Galilee.

Lebanon (Mount). Now called *Jebel Libnân*.

Lebaoth. Josh. 15. 32. Unknown.

Lebonah. Judg. 21. 19. The present village *Iubban*, west of Shiloh. (Ephraim.)

Lehi ('jaw'). Judg. 15. 9. Unknown.

Libnah. Josh. 10. 29. Unknown.

Libnah. Num. 33. 20. Unknown.

Lod. 1 Chr. 8. 12. Lydda. Acts 9. 32. The present *Ludd*. (Dan.)

Lubith. Isaiah 15. 5. Jer. 48. 5. Unknown.

Luz (1). Gen. 28. 19. = Bethel.

***Luz** (2). Judg. 1. 26. Perhaps the ruin *Lûeizeh*, near Bâniâs.

Maacah (District). Deut. 3. 14. Josh. 12. 5. 2 Sam. 10. 6. See Chap. 3, p. 254.

Maaleh Acrabbim. = Akrabbim.

***Maarath.** Josh. 15. 59. The present village *Beit Ummar*, north of Hebron.

Machpelah ('the divided' or 'double'). Gen. 23. 17. Probably the cave beneath the Haram at Hebron.

***Madmannah.** Josh. 15. 31. Possibly the ruin *Umm Deimneh*, north of Beersheba.

- Madmen.** Jer. 48. 2. Unknown.
- Madmenah.** Isaiah 10. 31. Unknown.
- *Madon.** Josh. 11. 1. Possibly the ruin *Madîn*, west of the Sea of Galilee.
- Magdala.** Matt. 15. 39. The present village *Mejdel*, north of Tiberias.
- Mahanaim.** Gen. 32. 2. Josh. 13. 26. Possibly the present *Maneh*, 12 miles north of Gerasa.
- *Mahaneh Dan** (camping place of Dan). Judg. 18. 12. West of Kirjath Jearim, and (Judg. 13. 25) 'between Zoreah and Eshtaol.' Apparently *Wâdy Serâr*.
- Makaz.** 1 Kings 4. 9. Unknown.
- Maked.** 1 Macc. 5. 26. Maged. 1 Macc. 5. 36. Unknown.
- Makheloth.** Num. 33. 25. Unknown.
- *Makkedah.** Josh. 10. 10. Probably the present village *el-Moghâr*. See Chap. 3, p. 255.
- Mamre.** Gen. 23. 17. Unknown.
- *Manahath.** 1 Chron. 8. 6. Probably the present village *Malhah*, south-west of Jerusalem.
- Maon.** Josh. 15. 55. The present ruined town *Main*, south of Hebron.
- Marah.** Exod. 15. 23. See Chap. 2, p. 248.
- *Maralah.** Josh. 19. 11. Possibly the present village *Malûl*, west of Nazareth.
- Mareshah.** Josh. 15. 44. The present ruin *Mer'ash*, close to Beit Jibrin.
- Maroth.** Micah 1. 12. Perhaps = Maarath.
- Masaloth.** 1 Macc. 9. 2. See Chap. 5, p. 293.
- Maspha** (1). 1 Macc. 3. 46. = Mizpeh (5).
- Maspha** (2). 1 Macc. 5. 35. = Ramath Mizpeh. See Chap. 5, p. 295.
- Massah.** Exod. 17. 7. Psalm 95. 8, 'temptation.' = Meribah.
- *Mearah.** Josh. 13. 4. Probably the village *Mogheiriyeh*, north of Sidon.
- Medeba.** Num. 21. 30. The present ruin *Medeba*. (Reuben.)
- *Megiddo.** See Chap. 4, p. 287.
- Mejarkon.** Josh. 19. 46. See Chap. 3, p. 262, and Chap. 1, p. 220.
- *Mekonah.** Neh. 11. 28. Probably Mechanum, 8 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis (Onomasticon), the present large ruin *Mekenna*, north of Beit Jibrin.
- Meonenim** (Elon). Judg. 9. 37 ('oak of soothsayers'). Probably = Moreh.
- Mephaath.** Josh. 13. 18. Unknown.
- Meribah** (Ex. 17. 7) and Meribah Kadesh (Deut. 32. 51). See p. 249.

Merom (Waters). Josh. 11: 5. Now *Bahret el-Hüleh*. See Chap. 1, p. 215.

***Meremoth**. 1 Chron. 27. 30. Possibly the ruin *Marrîna*, in the Hebron mountains.

Meroz. Judg. 5. 23. Unknown.

Michmash. 1 Sam. 13. 15. The present village *Mukhmás*. (Benjamin.)

Michmethah. Josh. 17. 7. See Chap. 3, p. 264.

Middin. Josh. 15. 61. Unknown.

Migdal-el. Josh. 19. 38. The present *Mujeidel* in Upper Galilee.

Migdal Gad. Josh. 15. 37. Unknown.

Migron ('precipice'). 1 Sam. 14. 2. Isaiah 10. 28. Unknown.

Mianith. Judg. 11. 33. Four Roman miles from Hesbon, on the road to Philadelphia (Onomasticon).

***Misheal**. Josh. 19. 26. Probably the present ruin *M'aisleh*. (Asher.)

Misrephoth Maim. Josh. 11. 8. Probably the present village *Sarafend* (Sarepta), near Sidon.

Mithcah. Num. 33. 29. Unknown.

Mizar (Hill). Psalm 42. 6. Unknown.

Mizpeh (1). Gen. 31. 49. See Chap. 5, p. 295. = Ramath Mizpeh.

Mizpeh Moab (2). 1 Sam. 22. 3. Unknown.

Mizpeh (Land) (3). Josh. 11. 3. And Mizpeh (Bikath). Josh. 11. 8. Apparently the present plain *el-Bukei'a*, west of Hermon.

Mizpeh (of Judah) (4). Josh. 15. 38. Unknown.

Mizpeh (of Benjamin) (5). Josh. 18. 26. See Chap. 4, p. 277.

Mochmur (Brook). Judith 7. 18. See Chap. 5, p. 290. Probably *Wâdy el-Ahmar*.

Modin. 1 Macc. 13. 25. The present village *Medyeh*. See p. 291.

Moreh (Oak or Plain). Gen. 12. 6. See Chap. 4, p. 275.

Moreh (Hill). Judg. 7. 1. Unknown.

Moresbeth Gath. Micah 1. 14. Unknown.

Moriah (Land). See Chap. 1, p. 210.

Mosera. Deut. 10. 6. Moseroth. Num. 33. 30. Unknown.

***Mozah**. Josh. 18. 26. Tal. Jer. Succah 4. 5, calls it Colonia. Near *Kolônia*, west of Jerusalem, is the ruin *Beit Mizzeh*.

***Naamah**. Josh. 15. 41. The present village *Nâ'aneh*.

Naaran. 1 Chron. 7. 28. Probably the same as the next.

Naarath. Josh. 16. 7. See Chap. 3, p. 264.

***Nahallal**. Josh. 19. 15. Tal. Jer. (Megillah 1. 1) renders it by Mahlul. Probably *Ain' Mahul*, north-east of Nazareth.

Nahaliel. Num. 21. 19. Unknown.

- Nain.** Luke 7. 11. The present village *Nein*, W. of Endor, S.E. of Nazareth.
- Naioth** ('habitations'). 1 Sam. 19. 18. Unknown.
- Nasor** (Plain). 1 Macc. 11. 67. Josephus reads Asor (13 Ant. 5. 7).
The present *Merj Hadireh*, west of the Hâleh Lake.
- Nazareth.** The present town *Nasrah*. (Zebulon.)
- Neah.** Josh. 19. 13. Unknown.
- Neballat.** Neh. 11. 34. The present village *Beit Nebâla*, north-east of Lydda.
- Nebo** (Mount) (1). Now *Jebel Neba*. See Chap. 3, p. 254.
- Nebo** (2). Num. 32. 3. Perhaps on the mountain.
- *Nebo** (3). Ezra 2. 29. Perhaps *Nûba*, a village south of Jerusalem.
- *Néiel.** Josh. 19. 27. Now the ruin *F'anîn*. See Chap. 3, p. 268.
- *Nekeb.** Josh. 19. 33. Tal. Jer. (Megillah 1. 1) reads Tziadathah.
The present ruin *Seiyâdah*, immediately west of the Sea of Galilee.
- *Nephtoah** (Waters). Josh. 15. 9. Now *'Ain 'Atân*. See p. 258.
- Netophah.** Ezra 2. 22. The ruin *Umm Toba*, N. of Bethlehem.
- Nezib.** Josh. 15. 43. The present ruin *Beit Nusib*, north-west of Hebron.
- Nibshan.** Josh. 15. 62. Unknown.
- Nimrah.** Num. 32. 3. The present ruin *Nimrîn*. (Gad.)
- Nimrim** (Waters). Isaiah 15. 6. Jer. 48. 34. Springs near the last, in the Jordan Valley.
- Nob.** 1 Sam. 22. 11. Neh. 11. 32. Isaiah 10. 32. See Chap. 4, p. 277.
- Nobah** (1) = Kenath. Num. 32. 42.
- Nobah** (2). Judg. 8. 11. Unknown.
- Nophah.** Num. 21. 30. Unknown.
- Oboth.** Num. 21. 10. Unknown.
- Ocina.** Judith 2. 28. Probably = Accho.
- Olives** (Mount). Zech. 14. 4. Now called *Jebel et-Tôr*.
- Ono.** 1 Chron. 8. 12. The present village *Kefr 'Ana*, near Lydda.
- Ophel.** See Chap. 7, p. 333.
- Ophni.** Josh. 18. 24. Unknown.
- Ophrah** (1). Josh. 18. 23. Five Roman miles east of Bethel (Onomasticon). This appears to point to the present large village *Taiyibeh*.
- *Ophrah** of the Abi-ezrites (2). Judg. 6. 11. Probably the present village *Ferâta*, near Shechem, the old name of which was Ophrah (Samaritan Chronicle).
- Oreb** (Rock of). Judg. 7. 25. Isaiah 10. 26. Unknown.
- Parah.** Josh. 18. 23. The ruin *Fârah*, south-east of Michmash.

Paran (Desert). See Chap. 2, p. 250.

Peniel. Gen. 32. 30. **Penuel**. Judg. 8. 9. Unknown.

Peor (Mount). Num. 23. 28. Unknown.

Perazim (Mount). Isaiah 28. 21. Unknown.

Pharpar (River). 2 Kings 5. 12. Probably *Nahr el-'Auwayj*, south of Damascus.

***Pirathon**. Judg. 12. 15. Probably the present village *Fer'ôn*, west of Shechem. *Pharathoni* (1 Macc. 9. 50) is possibly the same.

Pisgab (Mount). Deut. 34. 1. Apparently = Mount Nebo.

Punon. Num. 33. 43. Unknown.

***Rabbah**. Josh. 15. 60. Possibly the present ruin *Rubba*, in the hills near *Beit Jibrin*.

Rabbath Ammon. Deut. 3. 11, &c. The present ruin *'Ammân*. (Gad.) See Chap. 2, p. 237.

Rabbath Moab. The present ruin *Rabba*, north of Kerak.

***Rabbith**. Josh. 19. 20. The present village *Râba*, on the watershed south of Gilboa.

Rakkath ('shore'). Josh. 19. 35. The old name of Tiberias. See Chap. 3, p. 270; Chap. 6, p. 324.

***Rakkon**. Josh. 19. 46. The present *Tell er-Rakkeit*. See p. 262.

Ramah (1). Josh. 18. 25. The present village *er-Râm*. (Benjamin.)

Ramah (2). Josh. 19. 36. The present village *Râmeh*, in Lower Galilee.

Ramah (3). Josh. 19. 29. The present village *Râmeh*, in Upper Galilee.

Ramath Lehi. Judg. 15. 17. Unknown.

***Ramath Mizpeh**. Josh. 13. 26. Possibly the present *Remtheh*. See Chap. 3, p. 253; Chap. 5, p. 295.

Ramath Negeb. Josh. 19. 8. Unknown.

Ramathaim Zophim. 1 Sam. 1. 1. Unknown.

Ramathem. 1 Macc. 11. 34. Probably the same as last.

Ramoth. 1 Chron. 6. 73. The present village *Râmeh*, south of the Plain of Esdraelon.

Ramoth Gilead. Deut. 4. 43, &c. Fifteen Roman miles from Philadelphia (Onomasticon). The site is unknown.

Raphon. 1 Macc. 5. 37. Unknown.

Rehob (1). Num. 13. 21. Probably = Beth Rehob, near Laish.

Rehob (2). Josh. 19. 28. Unknown.

Rehob (3). Josh. 19. 30. Unknown.

Rehoboth. Gen. 26. 22. The present ruin *Ruheibeh*, south of Beer-sheba.

Rekem. Josh. 18. 27. Unknown.

- Remmon.** Josh. 19. 7. = En Rimmion.
- Remmon Methoar.** Josh. 19. 13. (Correctly 'Remmon stretching to Neah.') The present village *Rummāneh*, north of Nazareth.
- Rephaim** (Emek). Josh. 15. 8. Now *el-Bukei'a*. See Chap. 3, p. 258.
- Rephidim.** Num. 33. 14. See Chap. 2, p. 248.
- Riblah.** Num. 34. 11. Probably the same in 2 Kings 23. 33. The present *Riblah*, on east bank of the Orontes, 35 miles north-east of Baalbek.
- Rimmon** (1). 1 Chron. 6. 77. = Remmon Methoar.
- Rimmon** (2). Josh. 15. 32. = En Rimmion.
- Rimmon Parez.** Num. 33. 19. Unknown.
- Rimmon** (Rock). Judg. 20. 45. The present rock and village *Ram-rhôn*, east of Bethel.
- Rissah.** Num. 33. 21. Unknown.
- Rithmah.** Num. 33. 18. Unknown.
- River of Egypt** (Nachal Mizraim). Num. 34. 5. Probably the present *Wādī el-'Arish*. See Chap. 3, p. 257.
- Rogelim.** 2 Sam. 17. 27. Unknown.
- Rumah.** 2 Kings 23. 36. Perhaps the present ruined village *Rûmeh*, north of Nazareth.
- Salchah.** Deut. 3. 10. The present large town *Salkhād*, east of Bashan.
- Salcah.** Josh. 12. 5. The same as the last.
- Salem.** Gen. 14. 18. = Jerusalem according to Josephus. See Chap. 7, p. 328.
- Salim.** John 3. 23. The present village *Sâlim*, east of Shechem.
- Salmon** (Mount). Judg. 9. 48. Psalm 68. 14. The present *Jebel Sheikh Suleimân el-Fârî*, immediately adjoining Mount Gerizim. See Chap. 1, p. 210.
- Salt** (City of) (*Air ham-Melakh*). Josh. 15. 52. Probably the present large ruin *Tell el-Milh*, east of Beersheba.
- Salt** (Valley of) (*Gia Melakh*). 2 Sam. 8. 13. 2 Kings 14. 7. Unknown.
- Samaria.** 1 Kings 16. 24. The present village *Sebastieh*, west of Shechem.
- Samaria.** See Chap. 6, p. 309.
- Sansannah.** Josh. 15. 31. Unknown.
- Saphir.** Micah 1. 11. Probably the present village *Sudfir*, near Ashdod.
- Sarepta.** Luke 4. 26. = Zarephath.
- *Sarid.** Josh. 19. 10. The Syriac version reads Asdod, and the LXX.

- Seddouk** (Vat. MS.). Perhaps *Tell Shadûd*, on the north side of the Plain of Esdraelon, south-west of Nazareth.
- Soythopolis.** Judith 3. 10. 2 Macc. 12. 28, and in LXX. of Judg. 1. 27. = Bethshean.
- *Secacah.** Josh. 15. 61. Perhaps the ruin *Sikkeh*, east of Bethany.
- *Sechu.** 1 Sam. 19. 22. Probably the present ruin *Surweikeh*, immediately south of Beeroth.
- Seir** (Mount) (1). Gen. 14. 6. The mountains round Petra.
- Seir** (Mount) (2). Josh. 15. 10. See Chap. 3, p. 259.
- Seirath.** Judg. 3. 26. Unknown.
- Selah.** 2 Kings 14. 7. ('The rock.' Judg. 1. 36.) LXX. reads Petra.
- Sela ham-Mahlekoth**, 'cliff of divisions.' 1 Sam. 23. 28. The present *Wâdy Malâky*, east of Maon.
- *Seneh** (Rock). 1 Sam. 14. 4. Means 'thorn' (cf. 'Valley of Thorns,' 5 Wars 2. 1). The name seems to survive in *Wâdy Suweinit*, 'Valley of the little thorn tree.'
- Sephelah.** 1 Macc. 12. 38. = Shephelah. See Chap. 6, p. 302.
- Shaalabbin.** Josh. 19. 42. Probably the present village *Selbit*, south-east of Lydda, near Aijalon.
- *Shaaraim.** Josh. 15. 38. Probably the ruin *S'aireh*, west of Beit 'Atâb.
- Shalem.** Gen. 33. 18. The present village *Sâlim*, east of Shechem.
- Shalim** (Land) i.e. 'of caverns.' 1 Sam. 9. 4. Probably = Shual (Land).
- Shalisha** (Land). 1 Sam. 9. 4. Perhaps connected with Baal Shalisha.
- *Shamir** (1). Josh. 15. 48. Probably the ruin *Sômerah*, west of Debir.
- Shamir** (2). Judg. 10. 1. Unknown.
- Shapher** (Mount). Num. 33. 23. Unknown.
- *Sharuben.** Josh. 19. 6. Probably the large ruin *Tell esh-Sherfah*, north-west of Beersheba.
- Shaveh** (Emek). Gen. 14. 17. See Chap. 7, p. 328.
- Shaveh Kiriathaim.** Gen. 14. 5. Unknown.
- Sheba.** Josh. 19. 2. Probably = Shema.
- Shebam.** Num. 32. 3. = Sibmah.
- Shebarim.** Josh. 7. 5. Perhaps means 'precipices.'
- Shechem** Gen. 12. 6. The present city *Nâblus*.
- Shema.** Josh. 15. 26. Unknown.
- Shen.** 1 Sam. 7. 12. Unknown.
- Shenir.** Deut. 3. 9. Senir. 1 Chron. 5. 23. = Hermon.
- Shibmah.** Num. 32. 38. = Sibmah.

- Shicron.** Josh. 15. 11. Unknown. †
- Shihor.** Josh. 13. 2. 1 Chron. 13. 3. 'Dark.' Apparently the Nile.
- Shihor Libnath.** Josh. 19. 28. See Chap. 3, p. 268.
- Shilhim.** Josh. 15. 32. Unknown.
- Shiloah** (Waters). Isaiah 8. 6. = Siloam.
- Shiloh.** Josh. 18. 1. The present ruined village *Seilûn*. (Ephraim.)
- Shimron.** Josh. 19. 15. Tal. Jer. (Megillah 1) reads Simunieh. The present village *Simûnieh*, west of Nazareth.
- Shimron Meron.** Josh. 12. 20. Probably the same as the last.
- Shittim** ('acacias'). Num. 25. 1. = Abel Shittim. See p. 254.
- Shophan.** Num. 32. 35. Unknown.
- Shual** (Land). 1 Sam. 13. 17. Near Ophrah. Unknown.
- Shunem.** Josh. 19. 18. The present village *Sûlem*, north of Jezreel.
- Shur** (Desert). Gen. 16. 7. See Chap. 2, p. 250.
- Sibmah.** Josh. 13. 19. Hardly 500 paces from Heshbon (Onomasticon).
- Sibraim.** Ezek. 47. 16. Unknown.
- Siddim** (Emek). Gen. 14. 3. See Chap. 2, p. 239.
- Sidon** = Zidon. Gen. 10. 15. The present town *Saida*.
- Siloah.** Neh. 3. 15. Siloam. See Chap. 7, p. 335.
- Sin** (Midbar). Num. 33. 11. See Chap. 2, p. 250.
- Sinai** (Mount). See Chap. 2, p. 246, now called *Jebel Mûsa*.
- Sion.** See Chap. 7, p. 336.
- Siphmoth.** 1 Sam. 30. 28. Unknown.
- Sirah** (Well). 2 Sam. 3. 26. The present 'Ain *Sârah*, near Hebron.
- Sirion.** Deut. 3. 9. Psalm 26. 6. = Hermon.
- Sitnah** (Well). Gen. 26. 21. Unknown.
- Sodom.** Gen. 10. 19. See Chap. 2, p. 240.
- *Sorek** (Nachal). Judg. 16. 4. Probably the present *Wâdy Surâr*, on the north side of which is the ruin *Surik*.
- Succoth.** Gen. 33. 17. See Chap. 3, p. 253.
- Sur.** Judith 2. 28. Unknown.
- Sychar.** John 4. 5. The present village 'Askar. See Chap. 6, p. 320.
- Taanach.** Josh. 12. 21. The present ruin *T'ânak*. (Manasseh.)
- Taanath Shiloh.** Josh. 16. 6. The present ruin *T'ana*. See Chap. 3, p. 264.
- Tabbath.** Judg. 7. 22. Unknown.
- Taberah.** Num. 11. 3. Unknown.
- Tabor** (Mount). Josh. 19. 22. Now called *Jebel et-Tôr*. See Chap. 1, p. 209.

Tabor (Elon). 1 Sam. 10. 3.ⁱ Apparently *el-Bukei'a*, the plain south of Jerusalem.

Tadmor = Palmyra. See Chap. 4, p. 281.

Tahath. Num. 33. 26. Unknown.

Tahtim Hodshi (Land). 2 Sam. 24. 6. Unknown.

Tamar. Ezek. 47. 19. Unknown.

Taphon. 1 Macc. 9. 50. Perhaps = Beth Tappuah.

Tappuah (1). Josh. 15. 34. Unknown.

Tappuah (2). Josh. 16. 8. = En Tappuah. See Chap. 3, p. 263.

Tarah. Num. 33. 27. Unknown.

Taralah. Josh. 18. 27. Unknown.

Tekoa. 2 Chron. 11. 6. The present ruined village *Tekū'a*, south of Bethlehem.

Telaim. 1 Sam. 15. 4. Telem. Josh. 15. 24. Unknown.

Teman. Jer. 49. 20. Unknown.

Thamnatha. 1 Macc. 9. 50. = Thimnathah.

Thebez. Judg. 9. 50. The present *Tubās*, north-east of Shechem.

***Thimnatha**. Josh. 19. 43. Probably the ruin *Tibneh*, north-east of Lydda.

Tiberias. John. 6. 1. The present town *Tabariya*, on the Sea of Galilee. See Chap. 6, p. 324.

Timnah (1). Josh. 15. 10. The present ruin *Tibneh*, west of Beth Shemesh.

***Timnah** (2). Josh. 15. 57. Probably the ruin *Tibna*, near *Jeb'a*, west of Bethlehem.

***Timnath Heres** (or Serah). Josh. 24. 30. Judg. 2. 9. According to Jewish tradition the present *Kefr Hāris*, south of Shechem.

***Tiphseh**. 2 Kings 15. 16. Probably the present ruin *Tafseh*, south of Shechem.

***Tirzah**. Josh. 12. 24. Probably the present village *Teidsir*. See Chap. 4, p. 284.

Tob (Land). See Chap. 5, p. 295.

Tochen. 1 Chron. 4. 32. Unknown.

Tolad. 1 Chron. 4. 29. Unknown. = El Tolad.

Tophel. Deut. 1. 1. The present *Tufileh*.

Topheth. 2 Kings 23. 10. See Chap. 7, p. 330.

Trachonitis. Luke 3. 1. See Chap. 6, p. 315.

Tyre. Josh. 19. 29. The present town *Sūr*.

***Ummah**. Josh. 19. 30. Perhaps the present ruin *'Alma*, north of Achzib.

***Uzzan Sherah**. 1 Chron. 7. 24. Perhaps the present village *Beit Sira*, south-west of Bethhoron.

- ***Zaanaim** (Elon) (Judg. 4. 11) and Zaan^hannim (Josh. 19. 33). More correctly *Bitzan.ann*, according to Tal. Jer. (Megillah 1) and Targums. The plateau (in Targum *Mishor* = Elon) west of the Sea of Galilee, near the present village *Bessum*.
- Zaanan**. Micah 1. 11. Probably = Zenan.
- ***Zair**. 2 Kings 8. 21. Perhaps the ruin *Zûeirah*, on south-west shores of the Dead Sea.
- Zalmon** (Mount) Judg. 9. 48. Probably = Salmon.
- Zalmonah**. Num. 33. 41. Unknown.
- Zanoah** (1). Josh. 15. 34. The present ruin *Zanû'a*, south of Beth Shemesh.
- Zanoah** (2). Josh. 15. 56. Probably the ruin *Zanûta*, near Eshtemoa.
- ***Zaphon**. Josh. 13. 27. = 'Amâteh. See Chap. 3, p. 253.
- Zarephath**. 1 Kings 17. 9. The present village *Sarafend*, south of Sidon.
- Zaretan**. Josh. 3. 16. A city beside Adam.
- Zareth Shabar**. Josh. 13. 19. Probably the ruin *Zâra*, on east shore of the Dead Sea.
- ***Zartanah**. 1 Kings 4. 12. Perhaps the present ruin *Tell Sârem*, near Beth Shean.
- Zarthan**. 1 Kings 7. 46. = Zaretan.
- Zeboim**. Gen. 10. 19. See Chap. 2, p. 241.
- Zeboim** (Valley). 1 Sam. 13. 18. Probably *Wâdy Shakh ed-Dub'a*, a valley north of Jericho.
- Zedad**. Ezek. 47. 15.
- Zeeb** (Wine press) (*Yekeph Zeeb*, 'hollow place of the wolf'). Judg. 7. 25. Unknown.
- Zelah** (correctly Tzel'a). Josh. 18. 28. Unknown.
- Zelzah**. 1 Sam. 10. 2. Unknown.
- Zemaraim**. Josh. 18. 22. Probably the large ruin *Samrah*, north of Jericho.
- Zemaraim** (Mount). 2 Chron. 13. 5. Unknown.
- Zenan**. Josh. 15. 37. Unknown.
- Zephath**. Judges 1. 17. = Hormah.
- Zephathah** (Gila). 2 Chron. 14. 10. Unknown 'at Mareshah.
- Zer**. Josh. 19. 35. Unknown.
- Zered** (Nachal). Deut. 2. 14. Unknown.
- ***Zereda**. 1 Kings 11. 26. Probably the present village *Surdah*, west of Bethel. See Chap. 4, p. 284.
- Zeredathah**. 2 Chron. 4. 17. For Zarthan. 1 Kings 7. 46.
- Zererath**. Judg. 7. 22. Unknown.
- Ziddim**. Josh. 19. 35. Tal. Jer. (Megillah 1) reads Ophar Hittai. Apparently the present village *Hattin*, west of the Sea of Galilee.

Zidon = Sidon.

Ziklag. Josh. 15. 31. Unknown.

Zior. Josh. 15. 54. Probably the village *S'air*, north of Hebron.

Ziph (1). Josh. 15. 24. Unknown.

Ziph (2). Josh. 15. 55. The present ruin *Tell Zif*, south of Hebron.

Ziphron. Num. 34. 9. Unknown.

Ziz (Ascent of). 2 Chron. 20. 16. Probably = Hazezon Tamar: the name surviving in the tract near Engedi, now called *Hasásah*.

Zoar. Gen. 14. 2. See Chap. 2, p. 241.

***Zohemoth** (Stone). 1 Kings 1. 9. The present cliff *Zahweileh*. See Chap. 7, p. 334.

Zophim (Sadeh) 'field of views.' Num. 23. 14. On Pisgah.

Zorah. Josh. 19. 41. The present village *Sura'h*. (Dan.)

Zuph (Land). 1 Sam. 9. 5. Unknown.

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